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BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

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on 02 January, 2016

A

VISIT TO SPAIN;

DETAILING

THE TRANSACTIONS

WHICH OCCURRED DURING

A RESIDENCE IN THAT COUNTRY,

IN THE

LATTER PART OF 1822, AND THE FIRST FOUR MONTHS OF 1823.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

REMOVAL OF THE COURT FROM MADRID TO SEVILLE;

AND

GENERAL NOTICES OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, COSTUME, AND MUSIC OF THE COUNTRY.

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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HURST, ROBINSON, AND CO.,
90, CHEAPSIDE, AND 8, PALL-MALL;
AND ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., EDINBURGH.

1823.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

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VISIT TO SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

JOURNEY FROM LONDON TO BORDEAUX.

THE singular situation in which Spain was placed towards the close of the year 1822, the probability that the revolution of that country would be brought under the consideration of the Congress of Verona, and a curiosity to see the theatre of so many British victories, were my principal inducements to visit the Peninsula. The reader has here the results of such observations, as considerable opportunity, and the most perfect freedom from bias, enabled me to make during the six months immediately preceding the French invasion—perhaps the most important and diversified period that has occurred since the close of the Peninsular war.

I left London in October, 1822. The passage to Calais was rather a rough one, which none but a steam-vessel, and that such a one as the Dasher, could have attempted to make. This finely constructed boat, indeed, would ride over much rougher seas, as she turns in the water with the facility of one of its native inhabitants. Every passenger on board, with the exception of three or four, was excessively ill. The floor of the cabin showed that the sea, like Death, levels all distinctions; for there were strewed, at full length, ladies and their maids, gentlemen and children, English, French, and Spaniards, without any particular attention to the wants and sufferings of each other. October 15.

October. Pilot boats came out, and landed the greater number of the passengers before six o'clock; but the tide then rapidly falling, the rest of the passengers had the comfortable enjoyment of four hours more on board the packet. This was as bad as a second voyage. Before eleven all were landed without accident; and, as soon as they touched land, the ladies began to laugh and talk away, as if nothing had happened in the way of indisposition.

18th. I reached Paris on the 18th. As we passed through Beauvais, we learned that the vintage, which had only been just finished, was one of the finest that has been known for some years. The vines had scarcely yet lost any of their foliage, but the deep tints of yellow which they were every where beginning to assume, marked the approach of winter. Hitherto the autumn had been very mild.

It is not until you approach Beauvais that you begin to see the true costume and character, both of the French people and of French scenery. Fine sweeps of hills, covered with underwood, meet the eye in every direction. The valleys are frequently planted with poplars, which sometimes form a long line, or enclose a square field; and are sometimes so grouped together on the half ascents of the hills, that at a distance their spiral tops, and the vistas which they afford, resemble the ruins of monasteries. South of Beauvais there is a vale so beautifully planted with these picturesque trees, that it deserves the name of the "Valley of Poplars." But whether it is that such scenes as these impress the mind with an idea of solitude, leading to melancholy, though not unpleasing, associations; or whether it is that they are rarely decorated by chateaus, which might speak of a resident and active nobility, there is nothing in them, after all, but the unvarying beauty of still life. Here and there you see a woman driving her cows a-field. Now and then, a shepherd is seen on the side of

a hill, while his scanty flock browzes on the green declivity. October.
But these infrequent objects serve only to render the general stillness more palpable to the sense, and to deepen the contrast which it presents to the ever-breathing scenery of England.

Having remained only five days in Paris, I should not perhaps be excused if I went into any length of observation upon the peculiarities of that capital. I may, however, be permitted to state, that during the time of divine service, it appeared to me that the duties of the Sabbath were much more generally attended to than I had been led to expect. High mass was celebrated in the cathedral of Notre Dame, at which the Archbishop of Paris (De Quelen) attended. There was a large congregation, and they seemed to be all deeply impressed with a sense of religion. The other churches of the capital were, however, much better attended than the cathedral,—such of them as I saw during the hours of service were crowded. In these churches all was silent prayer; not the decorum of restraint, but sincere and earnest attention. What proportion these congregations bear to the idle, the irreligious, and the dissipated of the metropolis, it would be difficult to ascertain. There were very few shops open. The confectioners, traiteurs, small dealers in fruits, wines, and hardware exposed their windows as usual; but perhaps it may be assumed that the greater part even of these were Jews. All the shops, except two or three, in the Palais Royal were closed. In some quarters of the capital builders and labourers were at work, and several low mechanics pursued their occupations. But whatever is respectable in Paris observed the Sunday with as much strictness as we do in England.

One can scarcely move a step in Paris without seeing soldiers in every direction. The gens d'armes are for ever before the eye. In Paris, the military claim the ascendant

October. every where, and it is easily yielded to them. The people have no aversion to the sight of helmets and sabres; they rather court the conversation of the gens d'armes, and the intercourse between all classes of arms and the citizens seems to be carried on upon a friendly footing. Yet it may be said that the government is seldom heard of; it scarcely comes in contact with the people in their usual haunts and habits. It seems to be almost a secret influence, providing, in a different region, for the peace and happiness of its subjects. A man of industry, good conduct, proper sentiments of liberty, and of due regard for the laws, might live for half a century here without knowing that there was such a thing as an active and refined system of police. Those only who are inimical to order, who wish to push their own fortunes at the expense of the community, who can live only in the torch-light of conspiracies; men, in fact, who are little less than banditti—these alone are taught to feel that there is a government of power above their heads, and that their adventurous and selfish ambition is not likely to be gratified by sacrificing the repose of thirty millions of people.

What I have observed with my own eyes would be sufficient to sustain these observations. A native of Burgundy, with whom I casually conversed, confirmed them by the view which he gave me of that part of France. He was an intelligent, well-informed gentleman, of no school of politics, who neither loved nor hated the monarchy, and who seemed very properly to consider the ministry as the true object of a freeman's attention. Speaking the opinion of that part of the country, he said that M. de Villele's character was popular there, on account of his integrity, the unsullied purity of his life, his thorough acquaintance with the interests, and his inviolable attachment to the new institutions of France. The French, he observed, were a most supple and docile people, easy to be governed, and averse to political agita-

tions. As to Lafayette, Lafitte, Constant, and Foy, they were absolutely nothing. Their discourses in the Chamber had not the slightest influence in the country—men of no connexions—who wished to take the helm of empire into their own hands, and who, if they had it, would be as intolerant of public opinion as they were of a successful and vigorous government. October

I left Paris in the evening, for Tours, and arrived at Orleans just as the sun was rising. Its first beams were intercepted by clouds, which assumed a pale saffron colour of a delicate hue, here and there tinged with gold. The cathedral and its two lofty and magnificent towers looked to great advantage, as seen against this beautiful sky of morning. 23d.

Immediately after leaving Orleans, a stranger is surprised by the novelty, and delighted with the beauty of the scenery which he sees spread around him. On one side the country is indeed flat, but it is covered with vineyards; and though the leaves were now faded on the vine-stems, one easily imagines the effect which they must have when burdened with grapes, and smiling in their summer foliage. On the other side, the Loire, that source of romantic associations, gives to view a wide, tranquil sheet of water, whose undulation is so gentle, that it is scarcely observed to move, though it has to make a progress of more than five hundred miles. Here and there you see moored, or floating upon its unruffled bosom, some of those single-masted boats which are so frequently to be met with navigating this river. They are flat-bottomed, being constructed merely for carriage; their sides are not deep, and the poop gradually slopes off in a square form. Whether they are seen with the mast alone, and the slight cordage that passes from the summit to each extremity of the vessel, or whether they present themselves to the eye with their large, square, white sails extended, they

October. always form picturesque objects, and give diversity as well as animation to the scene. They were generally laden with wine—the wine of the last vintage, which was in small casks, of the size of our English hogshead. When the breeze is favourable, they spread the sail: in calm or adverse weather, they depend upon their oars. The distant bank in the vicinity of Orleans is level near the water, but at a short distance it rises gently, and terminates in a ridge, which runs parallel with the river for several leagues. The space between the Loire and this ridge is richly cultivated; the seat of many chateaus or villas, which shine out from amidst thick green underwood, and tall poplar trees; vineyards also crown the hill and enrich the vale down to the very margin of the stream. Several of these chateaus are large, but the greater number of them are on a moderate scale. A few of them are inhabited by English families at present, but the favourite resort of our emigrant countrymen seems to be towards Blois and Tours.

The road from Orleans to Tours winds along the Loire, in some places hanging immediately over the river, and never receding from it beyond twenty or thirty paces. We met frequently on the road light waggons laden with new wine in pipes. Some of these were drawn by six, some by five, four, and three horses, according to the number of casks, allowing two for each horse. Whatever the number of horses to each waggon, they were yoked in a single line, never two a breast, as in England. Of other travellers there were few. Two or three diligences well filled, three or four mouldy French cabriolets, two French carriages threatening to break down, and a pair of mounted gens-d'armes, charged with correspondence to a neighbouring division of police, were all we encountered, unless we except a party of pedestrians, who were refreshing themselves on the side of the road. One of these had a gourd-shell hung round his neck

by a cord, from which he now and then took a measure of brandy, for himself or his companions. Another held in his hand a small earthen jar of wine, from which he seemed to have just taken a liberal portion. Bread, with cheese and garlick, they seemed to have provided in abundance, though it was observed, that they did not invite to partake of their fare a solitary straggler, who had just passed them, and cast a longing look at their good cheer. He even took his bundle from the end of the stick, which he supported on his right shoulder, under the pretence of re-arranging it, that he might linger near them. But they looked every where except where the straggler stood, and at length he pursued his way. October.

The first place you meet of any consequence is Beaugency. It has the remains of a long high wall, which formed its very old fortifications. Some of the towers, which are of a round form, remain. In the middle of the town there is a large, square, high castle, which overlooks a considerable extent of country. There is also a handsome bridge over the Loire, and several boats, like those before described, were moored in the river, laden with wine. For some miles of the approach to Beaugency there are declivities on both sides of the Loire, which are highly picturesque. The slopes towards the river are either thickly wooded, or laid out in lawns, vineyards, or gardens. It must not be imagined, however, that either the lawns or gardens of this country are as handsome as those in England. Their glades have nothing of the rich deep green of our island; and as to the gardens, they are generally, except where English taste has made innovations, the most formal and uninteresting parts of the whole prospect.

The next town you pass through after leaving Beaugency is Blois, the approach to which is picturesque in the extreme. The road runs along the half-ascent of a

October. lofty hill. On your right hand are numerous little villas, built in a modern style, without much regularity as to their location, but perched wherever a gentle declivity or a level spot could be found. They have small gardens before them, and are covered in front with vine trees. On the left, the descent is abrupt from the road; but immediately below, between the road and the Loire, there is a charming valley, planted with ash, poplar, and elm trees, whose tops are overlooked by the traveller. The valley is intersected by several streams, and in summer it must afford a delightful retreat from the excessive warmth of noontide. Beyond this valley spreads the broad mirror of the Loire, for such it seems to be, so unruffled is its surface, so calm and silent is the passage of its ever flowing waters.

It is impossible to paint in any language the variety and enchantment of the scenery which extends on each side of the Loire, from Blois to Amboise, Chanteloup, and Tours. Imagine this magnificent river, wider than the widest part of the Thames, as it is seen in London, flowing in its simple grandeur between two lofty ridges of hills, each of which is crowded with innumerable chateaus, villages, and churches, planted with red and white vines of the richest flavour, diversified with poplars and shaded with underwood—a sweep of hill and vale, than which the sun throughout his course sees not one more friendly to the industry of man, or more fascinating to his senses. As we travelled along, we observed the water-side occupied almost the whole way to Tours with casks of the new vintage ready for embarkation. The river was well sprinkled, though not crowded, with boats ascending to Orleans; their white sails and whiter flags glittering in the evening sun.

As the night set in, we observed along the verge of the river several tents, which seemed to belong to persons who had debarked, for greater convenience of cooking, from

neighbouring boats, or to persons intrusted with the care of the wine prepared for embarkation. They were like gypsy tents; the fires which were lighted in them were reflected from the river, and they presented a curious and very picturesque effect. October.

I arrived at Tours in the evening, and was not surprised that it should have attracted so many of my countrymen. It stands between two rivers, the Loire and the Cher, and is surrounded by every variety of cultivated land; corn fields studded with fruit trees, and in the distance a range of hills, covered with vineyards to the very top: several of their eminences crowned with abbeys, villas, and ruined castles. The entrance to the town from the Paris road is imposing. You cross the Loire by a bridge of seventeen arches, quite straight, like Waterloo Bridge, and constructed in a style of simple elegance. As you pass over the bridge, you see on either side little islets in the river, which even yet were full of green foliage. As far as the eye can reach on either hand, you see villas, chapels with their spires, and little hamlets shaded by trees, and reaching down to the water's edge. Having passed the bridge, you enter the Rue Royale, which is perhaps one of the finest streets in France. It is very wide, has an excellent paved road in the middle, and, which is uncommon in France, a footway, and a wide one, on either side. At the end of this street is a long avenue of trees, shading the road towards Bordeaux for a considerable distance. 24th.

I understood that the number of English resident in Tours amounted to between five and six hundred. They consisted chiefly of persons who were desirous of economising, or who wished to enjoy the luxuries of French wines, fruits, and poultry, at less than one-third of the price which they cost in England. Where there is a large family, the account of expenses at the end of a year in Tours is little more than

October. one half of what it would be in London. A single gentleman, of expensive habits, may live as well here for five hundred a year as he would for a thousand in England; but to persons who are not "civilised" enough to feel that luxuries are necessaries of life, the change of country can make very little difference. Some also were here with a view to the re-establishment of their health. In winter the climate is as warm almost as the English spring, and there is a pure serenity in the air which is peculiarly agreeable. It is obvious, that amongst such a number there must be some societies of a mixed character; but, generally speaking, the English families here were respectable. There were, indeed, few or no persons of distinction—that is to say, there were none of the nobility here; the best part of the visitors consisted of retired merchants and others, who having a sufficiency of means, enjoyed a wider sphere of society here than they could do elsewhere. This, perhaps, is one of the most active causes of that emigration, which has of late years transferred so much of British wealth to foreign countries. Our upper circles move so much within their own rank, and have laid down such jealous laws with respect to the admission of mere wealth amongst them, that an Englishman of eight hundred a year has scarcely any chance of having even his existence known at home; whilst abroad, with the same means, and the manners of a gentleman, he may possess every pleasure which social life affords.

In the winter season, there are balls and routs; sometimes two or more the same night. The gentlemen have subscription hunts, partly French and English hounds. Their chief object of chase is the wild boar, an animal that affords the noblest diversion. Some of our countrymen are already expert in handling the spear, others bring out their guns, and the sport is generally excellent. There are some families who live in the country quite retired, but those

who wish for society may have it in abundance, provided they be respectable. Several old bachelors and widowers, who came here resolved to know nobody, and to keep themselves unknown, have not been here for a month before their houses were crowded with guests for nights successively. They are now amongst the most active promoters of every amusement. There is an English club-room here which is select. Most of the French journals, *Galignani's Messenger*, the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews*, are on the table, and there is also a whist-table, which, I regret to say, is seldom unoccupied by day or night. The stakes frequently run high. The theatre is pretty well attended by the French; now and then a few English appear in the boxes, but the players are of the lowest grade in the French drama. Even their dancing is bad. October.

On the 26th, at night, I took my departure from Tours for Poitiers. About day-break the diligence entered Chatellerault; where, whilst the horses were changing, four or five women pressed around us, and offered for sale some of the best cutlery I had seen in France. Between Chatellerault and Poitiers the land is all arable to the very margin of the public way; but it is not divided by fences and enclosed as in England. You see a boundless tract of country admirably cultivated, without any appearance of a ditch. This want of enclosures, a few vineyards now and then mingling in the prospect, the pure serenity of the skies, and that soft golden tinge which an unclouded sun imparts to every object, are the only features which distinguish this part of France from the interior of Wiltshire. Little hamlets here and there scattered among the hills, their white walls, church spires, and neighbouring chateaus shining in the landscape, would otherwise lead an Englishman to believe himself suddenly transported to his own country. One curious feature of this country it is, that the women 26th.

October. mostly, though not in all cases, ride their donkies and ponies after the manner of the male sex: that is to say, they use two stirrups, one at each side of the saddle. A stranger is apt to laugh on first seeing them; but when he perceives it is the general custom, he soon becomes reconciled to it. It is right to add, that modesty itself could not be offended by the appearance which they make, strange though it be. Every precaution is taken upon this point; and though now and then a young handsome girl shows a woollen stocking from her own needle, gaily broidered near the knee, it is but fair to presume that she does not intend it to be seen, and trusts the rest to the native politeness of the country. Her confidence is not abused; for though a blithe salute and a smiling compliment now and then remind her of her beauty, yet never do you hear or observe a word or action which has the slightest tendency to immorality.

On approaching Poitiers, the country becomes more rocky on the right hand; yet even from among the rocks vine trees shoot forth with amazing vigour. On the left the country is open, and here and there you see a few meadows, (a rarity hitherto on the journey) which are inclosed by poplar trees. Their lovely green, the silver streams by which they were watered, a few cows plucking their herbage, and deers bounding through them, formed pictures, which to the eye of the traveller had all the effect of novelty, after traversing so many leagues of vineyards. Several old castles crown the distant hills; giving too many proofs that the soil we were traversing had more than once witnessed the contests of adverse parties struggling for its possession.

27th. Poitiers is one of those places which the history of his country soonest impresses on an Englishman's mind, and he is apt to form his own ideas of it, investing it, of course, with ramparts, castles, and drawbridges, such as

might be worthy of the chivalry of the Black Prince. October.
But Poitiers has nothing of fine antiquity about it. It is irregular, badly built, the streets all narrow lanes, and so steep and so wretchedly paved, that it is a difficulty to ascend them. I observed an affiché in several of the most conspicuous places of the town, setting forth the sentence which had been recently passed on Berton and his unfortunate companions. One of the copies had been torn down apparently by an indignant hand, but the others remained untouched, and attracted many groups around them. It was remarked, that few or none of those who read them appeared to make even a mental commentary upon their contents. The French have acquired the art, more perhaps than any other nation, of "knowing nothing" of political affairs when it suits their purpose. It was even with some difficulty, and after many inquiries, that I found out the place where the conspirators were guillotined. It is a small square, marked by four rows of upright stones, and has a very mean appearance. In the middle of this square the scaffold was erected, but nothing remained of the "dreadful preparations;" a large flag, which marks the centre of the square, is the only guide to the precise spot where this last effort of treason was expiated. The town was crowded with military, and the police seemed more on the alert here than in any town through which I had yet passed.

Left Poitiers for Bordeaux. The road as far as An- 28th.
gouleme, which is nearly half the way, presents few scenes of picturesque beauty. Indeed one of the most interesting objects we witnessed this day was a simple, but at the same time a beautiful, sun-set. A zone of deep blue cloud surrounded all the lower part of the horizon. As the sun approached it in the west from a magnificent purple cloud, in which his light had just been veiled, the deep blue colour was not much diminished, while its verge, which was

October. remarkably well defined, was suddenly edged with living gold all round the horizon, except far away towards the east, where the shades of evening were already risen. After the sun descended behind this blue zone, he was seen no more; but a canopy of purple and gold long remained in the west, as if to preserve the memory of his departure.

Between Angouleme and Bordeaux the country is chiefly composed of hills and valleys, whence the roads are steep, and difficult to be kept in repair. But though such a disposition of country be unfavourable to the traveller in one respect, he is more than recompensed for any inconvenience he may suffer, by the variety of the scenery through which he passes. The hills are high, almost approaching to the class of mountains, and are nearly all clothed with vineyards, corn fields, or woods to their very summits. The horizon is bounded on one side by ridges crowned with trees, whose branches seem to touch the clouds; and on the other, hill rises over hill, affording here and there level spots and gentle declivities, which are occupied by chateaus and hamlets, churches with their picturesque spires, ruins of castles, and windmills. This description applies particularly to the country between the villages of Montlieu and Cubzac: here you first begin to feel the warm climate of the south, and to recognize those scenes fit for the refuge and enterprize of banditti, as well as for the softer inspirations of fancy in its earlier season, when all is hope and brightness, overcast only now and then by those spring-clouds of melancholy, which cherish, while they shade, the sources of imagination.

Cubzac is situated on the right bank of the Dordogne, which is here nearly as broad as the Loire at Amboise. There is no bridge, and the manner of passing it is by a species of boat, called a *gabarre*. It is a large wherry, which opens at the stern. The diligence is rolled into it from the bank, which is nearly level with the water, the horses having

been disengaged, and fresh horses being prepared to meet it at the other side. The passengers, who pay six sous each for their passage, sit on benches placed round the sides of the gabarre: if the wind serves, a large rough canvas sail is hoisted; if not, the vessel is rowed across. The movement is imperceptible, so smooth is the surface of the river, and the whole operation of embarking and landing, diligence and all, occupies generally half an hour. October.

After leaving the Dordogne, you have still three leagues of a tolerably good road to travel, before you reach La Bastide, which may be called a suburb of Bordeaux. It is on the right bank of the Garonne, and is connected with Bordeaux on the left by a new bridge, which is now nearly finished. This bridge is one of the most stupendous works undertaken or performed in this or any other country. Waterloo bridge, of which we boast, is diminutive as compared to the bridge of Bordeaux. No work that I have seen impresses a spectator more strongly with the extent to which human ingenuity and skill have conquered the elements, than this admirable pile of stone, stretching in gigantic strength over a sea of waters. It is upwards of eighteen hundred feet in length, from one side to the other. At present the river is crossed by a wooden bridge, built immediately under the stone bridge, which affords every facility to examine this noble structure.

CHAPTER II.

JOURNEY FROM BORDEAUX TO THE PYRENEES.

October 29. On my arrival at Bordeaux, I found the population of this city, justly styled the second city of France, increased considerably beyond its usual number, in consequence of the annual fair which was now going on, it having been prolonged by the interference of several days of bad weather. The principal scene of the fair was in the galleries over the piazza of the Exchange. Jewellery, books, pictures, fire-arms for sporting, flints, powder and shot, were the chief objects exposed for sale in these galleries. There were also some stands for cutlery, which seemed to be in just as bad a condition here as it is in the north of France. The greatest bustle, however, prevailed along the quays, where there were more than a thousand little temporary shops fitted up, filled with every article of utility, ornament, and convenience, which could be enumerated. Books of every sort were particularly in abundance, most of them from the presses of Paris and Thoulouse. Historical memoirs, novels, tales of love, whose scenes are chiefly laid in Languedoc and Provence, stories of robbers in the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, relations of exploits performed by a Duke of Normandy called, *par excellence*, *le diable*, and select relations of modern French campaigns, are the books of which the greatest number were sold. Religious books also were sought after; but few English works were to be seen; which is strange enough, considering the number of commercial English settled and sojourning here. There was a large display of pottery, which was far from being of a

handsome description. The glazing was wretched; the forms of the jars, and the handles to vessels of every sort, were little better than those which a child is taught very soon to make when amusing himself with potter's clay. The toys were greatly inferior to our Tunbridge ware; but the articles of glass and white porcelain, of tin and metal, were conceived with great taste, and well executed. There was a profusion of cloths from Montauban, of linens, cottons, and silks, cheese, wines and liqueurs, necklaces and combs, gold and silver crucifixes, garlick, rice, Indian wheat, and preserved fruits. The exhibitions of wild beasts were the principal attractions among the amusements. There was a remarkably fine rhinoceros. On Mondays there were bull-fights, and also bears, wolves, and other wild animals, were exposed in an arena to such dogs as ventured to attack them. There was a waggon for comedies and vaudevilles, to which the rustic spectators were hourly summoned by drums and trumpets. One of the most noisy and least busy fellows in the fair was a dentist, who appeared in a cabriolet, the back of which was hung with specimens, and the instruments of his "dreadful trade." From this elevated position he harangued the passing spectators all the day long, spoke of the many wonderful operations which he had performed, enlarged in magnificent strains upon his peculiar genius for the profession, and upon the good fortune of Bordeaux in having within its walls so renowned a professor. One unfortunate rustic was prevailed upon by his eloquence to submit to his inspection a tooth, which kept him, he said, in eternal agony. The professor, without more ado, applied the instrument, but in such a bungling manner that the devoted victim was only half immolated; and yet he immediately after began to boast of the admirable style of his operation. October.

It was now also the season when the exportation of the

November. new claret to all parts of the world rendered the quay and port of the Chartron a scene of constant bustle. The average exportation, one year with another, is said to be about 100,000 hogsheads.

The 1st of November, being the feast of All Saints, was observed here as one of the three great holidays of the year. A grand high mass was celebrated in the metropolitan church of St. Andrew, by the Archbishop, who is a Peer of France. The Archbishop, arrayed in his superb pontificals, was attended by two priests, and a deacon and sub-deacon, all in vestments of the most superb description. During the celebration of the mass, minute guns were discharged, and having been placed at a considerable distance, their mitigated sound echoed through the aisles of the church with the finest effect. Several English ladies were present, who seemed delighted with the ceremony, and with the music appropriated to the festival, which was particularly beautiful. The voice of the Archbishop, who is an old and infirm man, was scarcely audible beyond the high altar; but the piety and unaffected dignity which marked his demeanour fully compensated for the feebleness of his enunciation. It was curious enough to see a number of English Protestants seated in a French Roman Catholic church, which was raised nearly five hundred years ago by their own chivalrous ancestors. The building is worthy of them. It is, on the whole, a more superb church than that of Notre Dame, at Paris. It has a great number of painted windows, and the chapels round the great altar, as well as the main aisle, are hung with paintings, some of which are of masterly excellence. Upwards of ten thousand persons were present during the service. It is not possible to describe the sensations which pressed on the mind when, during the elevation of the host, one saw such an immense crowd kneeling before the high altar, and not a sound was heard save that of the

shrill silver-bell of the choir, the hymn of adoration flowing in cherub sweetness from the octave reeds of the organ, and the still-recurring peal of the distant guns. November.

One of the two beautiful spires at the western end of this church was struck down, some years ago, by lightning. Indeed almost all the churches here have been injured from time to time by the electric fluid, which seems to have a peculiar tendency to gather in awful and often destructive masses over the territory of France. The tower of St. Michael's church, which was formerly very lofty, presents an impressive example of its force. A considerable portion of the summit was struck off, and there are still to be seen, in the calcined fragments that remain, traces of the path which the fluid took. The most remarkable part, however, of this tower is the *caveau*, which it has near its foundations, and in which are contained eighty-four remains of human forms in a state of curious preservation. They are not embalmed; they are not enclosed in cases; they are not even inhumed; but they are arranged all round the cave against the wall, and are supported in a gently-inclined position merely by the natural limbs, which are knit together with surprising elasticity. An old man shows them, and in describing each as he passes, he bends a head—it resumes its position; he raises a hand—it falls again to its death-bed posture; he strikes the heads and chests—they sound like a bell. Several have teeth that still are in good condition; beard appears on some in its living strength and colour, and on almost all the cutaneous covering remains, and looks as sound as parchment. How they have been thus strangely preserved, why it is that they are still likely to prove insensible to the common progress of decay, are questions to which the old man can give no answer. He tells you that one was an officer who was killed in a duel four hundred

November. years ago, and he shows the apertures which the rapier of the adversary had made—another was a young female, who still possesses the remains of a fine form—another was a monk, a part of whose vestment still rests on his shoulder —another a merchant of Bordeaux, who was once wealthy beyond measure—and thus he goes on describing their different characters as recorded in tradition—some of them five hundred years old, none of them less than a hundred and fifty. It is impossible to listen to his familiar narrative, and look round at this congress of the dead, without experiencing the strangest sensations. Pride, beauty, wealth, and chivalry once animated all these forms, and now they are all exhibited in a circle for less than the tenth of an ounce of silver. They seem to owe their preservation to the particular nature of the spot where they are deposited, and not to any auxiliary means whatever. They furnish a shocking scene, but it is one also which, if properly viewed, can scarcely fail to produce a useful effect. The impression which it makes, after half an hour's contemplation, can never be forgotten!

The weather here was as warm and as fine as the month of June is generally in England. The clear moonlight nights—day after day a brilliant sun burning in an azure sky, in which not a streak of dark vapour was observed, from one side of the horizon to the other, formed a striking contrast indeed to the November fogs and cold of London. The character, however, of the Bordeaux climate is that of being hot and humid; which sometimes produces sudden and extreme changes of the temperature. For this reason, Bordeaux is not much frequented by invalids. Another reason may be, that it is the dearest town in France. There are many articles for which you are asked double the price you may get them for in Paris. Gross impositions are not un-

frequently practised upon strangers; nor is it always that November.
they meet with the same civility or cleanliness which they experience in the capital.

The number of shallows which are encountered in the navigation of the Loire prevent the establishment of steam-boats on that otherwise magnificent river. But on the Garonne there are several steam-boats. No fewer than three ply constantly between Bordeaux and the towns on the banks of the Garonne from twenty to thirty miles distant, and they are often crowded with passengers. There is a small pleasure-boat in the river, which is impelled by steam. Some idea is entertained of establishing a steam-boat, which will ply between Bordeaux and Dublin. At present the communication between these two cities is kept up by sailing packets, one of which arrives or sails every week.

The principal theatre is, perhaps, the handsomest in France. Its exterior is not unlike that of our Opera-house; it is entirely insulated, and has a fine colonnade in front, over which is a balcony with a stone balustrade. On the balustrade are statues of Apollo and the Muses, which give a peculiarly graceful effect to the building. Its interior corresponds with the impressions which the outward beauty of the edifice is calculated to make. The construction of the boxes is singular. They are separated from each other by columns which ascend from the base to the ceiling close to the sides of the theatre, and the boxes project considerably. The *parterre*, or pit, is divided into two parts; the back part is raised to a level with the first boxes, and is called *Paradis*. The ceiling is handsome, the proscenium lofty, and the stage sufficiently extensive. The house is lighted by a large lustre formed of lamps, from the centre of the ceiling. The real attraction of the Grande Theatre is the Ballet. This stage is a school for the Academy of Music in

November. Paris, and those who distinguish themselves here are speedily transferred to the capital.

6th. After waiting eight days at Bordeaux for a place in the diligence, I succeeded in obtaining one on the 6th of November. Before the troubles of Spain assumed a serious aspect there were two diligences from Bordeaux to Bayonne, one of which started daily; the fares were then at half their present amount, and as there was seldom a want of passengers, the proprietors considered themselves well paid. It is a proof of the decline of commercial intercourse with Spain that one of these has ceased to ply during the last six months, and although the one that remains is usually filled with passengers, few of these proceed to Bayonne, fewer still pass beyond the Pyrenees. Two of my fellow travellers were Spaniards: one of them a clergyman, who preserved an air of mystery the whole way, which almost marked him as the bearer of some secret mission. The rest were French, one of them an officer of light infantry, and another an officer of artillery, both going to the Army of Observation. The latter had served in the Prussian campaigns of Buonaparte. Active service and promotion were one and the same thing in his imagination, and formed the only incentive of his ambition. It required, however, the interposition of strong interest at the war department to obtain a post in the Army of Observation for any of those who served under Buonaparte. Indeed, so far as I could understand, one of the results to which the government looked, in the formation of the legions in the Pyrenees, was the constitution of what may be designated as a Royal, in contradistinction to the Imperial Army. New men were preferred to veterans, unless where it was shown that the veterans might be entirely depended upon for their zeal in the royal service. This, doubtless, is a policy which the suspected veterans would censure, be-

cause it militated against their interest, but it is also one which circumstances seemed to have rendered eminently expedient. November.

About two miles from Bordeaux, a pillar is erected to commemorate the first restoration of the Royal family in 1814. Soon after you pass this pillar you enter what are called the *Landes* of France. They are called also the desert of France; but this appellation applies more properly to those portions of the *landes* which are situated near the sea. Within view of the Bayonne road these *landes* stretch without much variety almost the whole way from Bordeaux to the Pyrenees; yet they are not without a certain degree of interest. Immense forests of pine, vast plains covered with rough herbage, herds of goats and flocks of sheep, browzing upon them, attended by a peculiar race of shepherds, who move about generally in the autumn and winter on stilts, are not without the attraction of novelty to an English traveller.

The reason for using these strange auxiliaries to the human figure seems to be in order to keep the feet out of the water, with little pools of which the *landes* abound after rain. The soil being, for the most part, like the sandy beach of the sea, it takes some time before the rain that falls upon it is imbibed by the earth or evaporated by the sun. The stilts also give the shepherds a larger sphere of vision over the *landes*, which are as remarkable for their flatness as they are for their wild and uncultivated appearance.

We were obliged to have eight horses to the diligence from Paignac to Bazas, so heavy and deep are the sands. For about two miles of this road, even this number of horses was not sufficient, and the toil of passing it was not facilitated by the approach of night, though certainly a fine one, the host of stars being all lighted in the firmament, and shining with silvery lustre. The first notice the new tra-

November. vellers had of the difficulty before them was the appearance of four or five peasants, who followed us from Paignac, one of whom carried on his shoulder a lighted torch, formed of a bundle of long laths of pine wood, tied together. The wood is so impregnated with turpentine, that it needs no addition of any other substance to preserve it in a state of continual and bright conflagration, when once it is ignited. I was lost in looking at the flame of the torch playing on the faces of the peasants, and on the woods through which we passed, until at length we found ourselves in the midst of a dark forest, and were all politely requested by the conducteur to descend. The light of the torch revealed two fine oxen, and behind them, in the shade, were discerned two others, and a number of peasants with ropes, waiting for the diligence to come up. The torch-bearer now and then changed his station, as if to show the effect of the light upon the objects and scene around us. Now it gave the large unwieldy vehicle to view—now the group of passengers who had just descended, and contemplated the scene with interest; now the peasants —now the oxen, whose large heads and sides were so peculiarly brightened in the light, or darkened in the shade, that they seemed the principal objects in the picture. They were at length harnessed to the diligence with strong ropes, and it required all their strength, in addition to six of the horses, to draw it through a sandy mire of a mile in length, where the wheels were sunk to the axle. The latter part of the road was rendered still more difficult. By way of amending it, it was recently strewed over with loose gravel, and the peasants employed for this purpose were complaisant enough to leave several high heaps in the middle of the carriage-way, which the oxen and horses had to level with their feet, as they painfully dragged along the heavy weight behind them. It was midnight when we

reached Bazas, and then we sat down to—*dinner*. In French stage-travelling little attention is paid to regularity of meals. I have more than once breakfasted, dined, and supped, at one and the same time. Sometimes I have dined at three o'clock in the morning, and breakfasted at two in the afternoon. Sometimes I have neither breakfasted, dined, nor supped at all within twenty-four hours. November.

After toiling all the night through deep and rather perilous roads, we reached Roquefort on the morning of the 7th, just as the day was breaking. Roquefort is nearly half-way between Bordeaux and Bayonne. The sky was covered with light blue clouds, and as the sun rose and dispersed them, we, for the first time, had a distant view of the Pyrenees. They completely bounded the horizon in the south, stretching from the south-east to the ocean in the west, in a line that appeared nearly straight to the distant eye. The masses of mountains, however, which form this line, are different as to their form, and unequal as to their height. The mass towards the east is the highest. It consists of a pile of mountains apparently detached from the others, rising abruptly in the east, and after stretching a considerable distance towards the west, terminating in a precipice of vast height and steepness. The next mass following the direction from east to west is composed of mountains which rise gradually on one side, and decline as gradually on the other. It is not so extensive, so imposing, nor, in the aggregate, so lofty as that just described; but towards its eastern extremity one of its mountains rises high above all the Pyrenees in a pyramidal shape, and its point pierces the clouds. A third mass of mountains continues the line towards the west. These are a little inferior to the others as to height, but they stand clustered together in greater number, and present projections of a spherical form, which have a striking and sin- 7th.

November. gular effect. These three masses form what are called the "High Pyrenees." They completely conceal from view the "Eastern Pyrenees," which extend behind them to the Mediterranean. The remaining masses, which stretch to the ocean, and which cover Oleron and Bayonne, are formed of irregular and lesser mountains, which are called the "Low Pyrenees."

Roquefort is romantically seated amidst a collection of hills. You see houses, vineyards, and gardens in the bottom of deep valleys, or climbing declivities, in which steps are cut for ingress and egress. It is watered by two small rivers which meet near the rustic wooden bridge of the town. Looking down from this bridge you see the principal stream pursuing its winding turbid course at a considerable distance below, between the branches of trees, shrubs, and herbage. Every body naturally expected to breakfast at Roquefort; but no such thing was to be had. A few, who were content to take the world as it came, purchased small loaves from a baker who was just opening his shop, repaired to a clear spring which burst from a rock immediately above the town, and like the hermits of old, after consuming the crust, drank from the living fountain. They had, besides, the satisfaction of chatting with several young women, remarkable, as the Gascon women generally are, for their beauty, who came in groups to the fountain for water. They gaily bantered us on the austerity of our living, but consoled us with the assurance that the water was peculiarly excellent. They received the spring in baked earthen vases, containing about three gallons, with a small handle, a small round aperture in the top for which there was a tin cover, and a short straight pipe—not unlike the form of our China old fashioned tea-pots. A napkin twisted round was placed on the head, upon which the vase found a firm seat; and as

each group were supplied they returned down the hill, November.
singing and laughing as they tripped along. The lash of the postillion, who took nearly half an hour in getting through this hilly town, at length summoned us away from a scene which recalled to mind the days of primeval simplicity.

The road from Roquefort was still through the *landes*, which presented a heathy appearance near us, but the distance on either side was generally bounded by vast pine woods. Occasionally these woods approached to the borders of the road, and it was observed that the trunks of the trees were uniformly chipped on one side. This operation was performed in the summer, its object being to afford a channel to the turpentine, which, during the latter part of that season and the first months of autumn, distils in great quantities from the pines. When we passed through close parts of the woods, we felt the air strongly scented with their fragrance. Now and then a hunter emerged from the thickets in quest of game, attended by his dogs; sometimes a travelling peasant appeared suddenly from the by-paths. We journied several leagues without meeting a village, and even single houses were but rarely seen. In a few spots of arable land that presented themselves to our view, women were employed equally with the men in spreading the manure, guiding the plough, and performing the other various offices of agriculture. They seemed to have come from some distance, as they usually had small temporary huts erected on the ground, where they slept at night and prepared their food. The few farm-houses that we observed were very much in the style of those which are commonly seen in paintings of the Flemish School.

There is nothing more remarkable in this country than the echo, which is capable of being awakened in several parts of it. The crack of the postillion's whip was

November. heard repeated in twenty vibrations, each lessening as they resounded along the interminable waste. The tick of a cloth mill, which we passed, was heard distinctly for at least three miles of the road. A peculiar stillness pervaded the atmosphere—not a leaf on the trees trembled; now and then a prolonged call was heard from some cottage buried in a distant part of the forest, which died away in the air with a melancholy cadence. The echo is rationally accounted for, by the peculiar solidity of the sandy soil, which rather reflects than absorbs the sounds that pass over it. But the stillness which it produces is almost supernatural.

7th. I arrived at Bayonne in the afternoon, and one of the first objects which attracted my attention was a considerable body of infantry marching into the town to the sound of trumpet and drum. In every street through which I passed I observed soldiers passing and repassing, and soon found that I had reached a division of the "Army of Observation," under the command of General Count Charles d'Autichamp.

During a week which I staid at Bayonne it was crowded with Spaniards belonging to the army of Quesada, who had been defeated by Espinosa at Los Arcos, in Navarre, on the 27th of October. They were, generally speaking, miserably dressed: a few wore cloaks and round cloth or fur caps. Among the refugees was Quesada himself, who remained only two or three days, and set out to pursue those solicitations at Paris which have since proved so effectual.

10th. On Sunday I attended the military mass at the cathedral. Count d'Autichamp and his brilliant staff were present, as well as the officers of the different battalions, forming almost a regiment in themselves. The principal officers had seats immediately before the great altar,

the others were placed in the choir behind, and the soldiers with their caps on, and their arms shouldered, were ranged along the aisle. A body of pioneers, dressed in their white long aprons, large fur caps, their firelocks slung behind them, and their brightly-polished axes in their hands, stood at the side of the altar. During the service the band played several solemn and beautiful movements. At the elevation, the soldiers grounded their arms, knelt on one knee, put the left hand up to the cap, as they do in saluting; the drums rolled and the trumpets sounded. I cannot, however, believe that this is altogether the best mode of attending Divine service. The soldiers are necessarily more observant of their positions, and of the words of command from their officers, than of the more imperative duties which the solemn occasion demands. November.

The refugees who were at Bayonne entertained even at this period a confident hope that the French troops would pass the frontiers as soon as they should be sufficiently provided with artillery and munitions of war. The French officers also spoke of their entrance into Spain as a matter of which it would be ludicrous to doubt. It was evident that the reception which the refugees experienced was calculated to sustain the spirit of the royalist party under every reverse of fortune.

From twenty to thirty coasting vessels arrived in the port laden with shells, cannon balls of different weights, mortars, pieces of light and heavy artillery, and the carriages necessary for their equipment. For several days the quay was heaped with these instruments of war, which were afterwards removed to the arsenal at Maracq, about a mile from the town off the high road to Spain. What with the sailors counting the balls as they heaved them out of the vessels, the soldiers hauling up the shells, the artillery men hauling

November. up the cannon, sentinels pacing up and down, officers giving directions, the hurry of cars and waggons rolling along the quay to the road which leads to the arsenal, one might have imagined himself either within, or near, a town besieged.

Riding one day amongst the hills in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, I observed several detachments of the army occupied in different ways: some performed sham-fights; some were firing at a target; some were employed in ascending eminences in regular order; and, by the sun's glancing on the brightly burnished arms, I perceived that others, at a distance, were engaged in marching through narrow defiles. Occasionally I lost sight of those in the valleys, but now and then the gleaming of a bayonet directed my eye until I saw them emerge again, and wind over the distant hills, from whence the beat of the drum was but faintly heard.

About a league from the town I encountered a group of fresh emigrants, who were flying from the triumphant armies of Espinosa. They consisted of four priests, a Carmelite monk, and eight respectable well-looking men, most of whom appeared in Spanish cloaks, common round hats or fur caps, and in every other way well-dressed. They had one horse, which a sickly young man of gentlemanly appearance rode. The group walked abreast along the road in animated conversation, the meaning of which was often perceptible from their gestures of alternate indignation and despair. The priests walked at a little distance behind. I stopped for some time to observe them, and could not help pitying from my soul, men, who for whatever reason, were obliged to abandon the land of their birth, their affections, their hearths, and their altars. There were on the road-side several Spaniards sitting in melancholy postures, apparently waiting to see what num-

bers this day's emigration drew from their unhappy country November.
—haply also waiting to see if among the travellers they might find a father, a brother, or a friend.

There was a striking contrast between these various groups and a body of French cavalry, who just galloped by them along the road towards the mountains, where the setting of the sun was creating a scene novel to an English eye, and as beautiful as it was new. The orb was going down, unattended by a single vapour, behind the ocean, and almost in a line with the Lower Pyrenees, some of which assumed an etherial purple colour; others more distant, a dark blue; while the Higher Pyrenees, more distant still, as if exulting in the majesty of their rank, were all clothed in gold, the snow, that never leaves their tops, shining like a hoary diadem. After the sun went down, the mountains still retained their hues for awhile, and thus they stood strongly defined in all the variations of their ridges, peaks, and bold declivities, against a pale yellow sky, until twilight restored them to their usual frowning appearance.

In the neighbourhood of Bayonne, as well as in the town itself, the young women who are engaged in out-door employments wear a coarse straw hat, with a very wide leaf, which is lined on the inside with glazed linen of a violet colour. It is worn on the side of the head. Being more or less arched, according to the taste, or rather perhaps the beauty of the wearer, and being fitted over the handkerchief of plaided violet and blue, which forms the general in-door head-dress of the women in this country, it has a gay, and at the same time a pastoral effect, sufficient to make even ordinary features look handsome. The Basque women (so those of this country are designated) are, however, remarkable for a fine round full face, the features often as regular and noble as those seen in Grecian statues; the eyes full of languid fire, and the eyebrows dark, well de-

November. fined, and delicately arched. Most of the women distinguished by these straw hats are employed about horses, whose dingy colour and famished limbs form a strange contrast with their own interesting appearance. There is a number of these women generally about the market-place who let their horses out for short journeys, of a league or two. The machine in which passengers sit is formed of wooden bars, exactly in the shape of the letter W. The central angle is fitted down on the horse's back; if there be two passengers, one sits in the inverted angle at one side, and one at the other, thus balancing each other like two panniers. The fair proprietress follows behind on foot, and with her whip urges the horse along the road. If there be only one passenger, she occupies the other seat herself, and thus they trot along, offering a very original and patriarchal picture of the first approaches towards the invention of carriages.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY FROM BAYONNE TO MADRID.

As I was not in any particular haste, and was anxious to see as much of the country as possible, I agreed to join a party of four, who were about to proceed to Madrid in a voiture. This vehicle is not unlike one of the London hackney coaches, with this difference, that it is built on a stronger principle, and has a small cabriolet in front. It is drawn by seven mules, two-and-two a-breast, and a leader, which are connected with the pole and cross-bar by small strong ropes. Their heads are ornamented with red and blue worsted trappings, and round their necks is a leathern belt, to which are attached a number of small bells and three large ones, which emit a slender and not disagreeable sound as the animals move along. The leader obtains his principal station on account of the instinctive intelligence with which he guides the others through the short turns of the mountain roads. In order to give the voiture sufficient space, he walks slowly to the border of the angle; after traversing it, he suddenly quickens his pace, the rest of the mules, always obedient to his example, precisely follow his track, and the vehicle is thus drawn with facility and security over the most precipitous windings. The voiturier sits on a low bench, placed immediately under the cabriolet, and carries a small whip, which, however, he seldom applies. When he wishes the mules to go fast (a wish, by the way, he very rarely entertains), he speaks to them, and they trot on. He has names for each; now he accosts one, by and by another, and tells them to do their duty. But there is a tolerably good understanding between the voiturier and his mules that they

November.

November. are not to distress themselves for any particular set of passengers, not one of whom, perhaps, they may ever see again after carrying him to his destination. There is also a postillion, who sometimes rides on the bench with the voiturier, but most generally walks by the side of the mules. Over this servant the voiturier exercises a most capricious control. The latter also walks a considerable part of the journey; when he is not walking he is sleeping in his seat, or rather nodding. It is sufficiently amusing sometimes to hear him call out to the mules while his soul is merged in slumber. They know by the dozing sound that he sees them not; on such occasions they pay him not the slightest attention, and almost go to sleep themselves. Such is the establishment of the voiture. It travels generally ten, seldom twelve leagues a day, and takes nine days and a half to go from Bayonne to Madrid, a distance of about one hundred leagues.

Two months previous to this time there were two diligences which set out from Bayonne alternately once a week; but they were both burned near the frontiers by parties of "the factious," as it was said, because they were suspected to have carried despatches for the Constitutional Government. Upon this point, however, doubts may be entertained. The diligences performed the journey to Madrid in three days, and it is rather probable that they were found to be too speedy for the series of auberges, or small inns, which have been established on the road time out of mind. The voiture, with its cargo of passengers, stops every night, which makes a considerable difference in the eyes of the hosts and hostesses, when they calculate the advantages they derive from the one vehicle, and the losses they sustained by the other. The voituriers also were most particularly interested in this subject, as while the diligences existed, their occupation was gone.

Before we left Bayonne, we were informed that we had very little chance of arriving at Madrid without being robbed. This very agreeable information was repeated in so many respectable quarters, that we could no longer have any doubt upon the subject. Thus situated, my fellow-travellers and I agreed with the voiturier to pay the whole expenses of our route, and exchanged such money as we had for orders on Madrid, securing this part of our property at least from the dangers that were so much talked of. Our luggage was packed on a platform behind the vehicle. November.

We set out from Bayonne on the 15th of November. The road to Irun passes over part of the Lower Pyrenees. It is, consequently, very uneven, and its natural inconveniences are very little mitigated by the care of the French Government. It is formed of rough small stones, full of ruts, and while the vehicle is dragged along, it is constantly shaken from one side to the other*. After ascending the heights, we had occasionally some fine views of the sea, on the right hand. The hills are covered with thorns and heaths, but here and there are ridges and valleys, pretty well cultivated, and in almost every well-protected spot there are hamlets and separate cottages. The gables of the cottages generally face the road, and the roofs extending over the walls on every side, give them a picturesque effect, which is improved where the walls are well whitened, and the wood-work, both of the roofs and walls, is painted red, as is frequently the case. The windows are guarded by shutters, which open on the outside. There are trees to be seen in one or two sequestered places, and orchards of considerable extent. Now and then one begins to feel that he is approaching Spain, by seeing cottages with large heavy wooden balconies 15th.

* It is proper to state, that on my return to France I found the roads, both here and between Bayonne and Bordeaux, much improved.

November. before the windows. In harmony with the dreary aspect of the scene are some large comfortless-looking houses of stone, gray with age, and mouldering, which are occasionally observed in the most solitary recesses of the mountains, without windows, unless narrow apertures like the port-holes of baronial castles might be so called.

St. Jean de Luz, which is seated on the Nivelle, consists of a considerable number of houses, very old and strongly built, the gables all facing the streets. After passing this town, the mountains become interesting, as they afford a genial soil, and are covered with woods, interspersed with pastures and arable fields. It had been raining all the morning, but towards evening the mists began to roll away. At different points along the road, where a large barn or house of any sort afforded shelter, parties of the Army of Observation were posted.

As we were going down the descent which leads to the Bidassoa, the river that divides France from Spain, we met a caravan of Spanish carriers, consisting of forty mules, laden with saffron and other merchandise. The manner of packing goods in bales, and disposing a proportionate weight on each side of the mule, is a well-known peculiarity of the Peninsula. There is a little regard to effect in the way in which the carriers cover their merchandise, sometimes with carpets of various brilliant dyes, but generally plaided with stripes of blue and white. Under the wide-leafed hat, the Spanish carriers and muleteers also pride themselves in wearing handsome kerchiefs, which are tied round the head, leaving one corner to dangle down behind the left ear. We crossed the Bidassoa in a gabarre, which took over passengers, voiture, and mules, without the latter being unharnessed. They are so accustomed to the passage, that there was no trouble whatever in getting them on board. At low water the Bidassoa is a narrow shallow river;

but when the tide replenishes its channel, it assumes an im- November.
portant appearance. Parts of the bridge, which formerly was thrown over it, still remain. It was cut down by the Spaniards at an early period of the late war, and it has not been since repaired.

Half an hour after crossing the river, we entered Irun. It consists of one street, which ascends a rugged hill; and, with the exception of the town-house in the Plaza de la Constitucion*, and a new house of great extent, in a handsome style of architecture, which an American is now building, there is not a well-looking house in the town—or, rather village, for such in fact it is. A striking difference immediately manifested itself in every thing around us. A new language; faces of a totally different character; labouring men of a wretched appearance, their naked feet bound in rude sandals; women without even sandals or shoes of any sort, with their dark hair falling behind to the waist, neatly platted, large dark eyes, and a cordial expression of countenance, assured us that the Bidassoa is no ideal boundary. The auberge, or posada, at which the voiture stopped, was also of a character entirely Spanish. A large gate in front admitted us to a wide, empty, paved apartment, which is commonly used as a coach-house. In one corner of this rustic hall was a step-ladder, by which we ascended to the inhabited part of the house, where we were shown into a large

* In almost every town and village of Spain there is a square, called the Plaza, or Place. Since the Constitution was revived, the name of *Plaza de la Constitucion* has been given to these squares. The name is usually written in letters of gold under the *stone* of the Constitution, which is inserted in the wall of some house, generally the town-house, in the most conspicuous part of the Plaza. What is called the *stone* of the Constitution is a large block of marble, with the arms of the country carved upon it.

November. room, the walls well white-washed and hung with four or five common prints, glazed in frames. The favourite subject of these prints was the story of the young and valiant Dunois, who, on going to the wars, prayed only that he might be the bravest among the brave, and be blessed with the love of the fairest among the fair—a wish which the romance accomplishes, after the young knight has passed through several adventures. On one side of this chamber were two small bed-rooms, which were separated from it by a slight curtain, and at the extremity was a separate room, honoured by the tenancy of the Alcalde. The dinner consisted of eggs, (generally the first course at the Spanish posadas), beet-root, mutton-chops, and poultry, the latter copiously suffused with oil: the dessert, apples, nuts, grapes, and confectionery; the wines, the red ordinary wine of the country and Malaga; the former has rather a sweet medicinal taste, which is not much relished at first by a stranger. The Malaga is a white wine, also sweet and medicinal. The best species of the latter is, of course, not to be found in a village so remote from the place of its growth, but when pure and genuine, it is an excellent and agreeable beverage. One reckons on waiting at least an hour always for dinner at a posada, and if he expects to find a good bed, it is most probable that he will be disappointed. If he be fortunate enough to light on a clean one, he may think himself blessed indeed.

Irun is hemmed in by mountains on one side, and the sea on the other. It wears a look of poverty and idleness, but its situation is picturesque. The town-house, which was occupied by a company of the Constitutional troops, was placed in a state of rude defence. In front of it a small ditch was formed, over which was thrown a drawbridge about five feet wide. The arcades of the building were stopped up with rough walls, in which port-holes were

formed, presenting altogether a sort of caricature of for- November.
tification. The ragged uniforms and unwashed faces of the sentinels were quite in keeping with the scene. The inhabitants, I was told, were divided into two parties, one for the constitution, the other for the king, and of the two the latter were the more numerous. Over the doors of several of the houses in Irun we observed large stones elaborately carved with the arms of the family. These are distinctions of ancient and, as it is termed, noble blood, which are held in such estimation amongst the Spaniards, that a poor peasant, who has only five ounces of gold in the world, will expend three of them on a stone of this description. In the course of the journey we observed some of these tokens of family pride placed in the fronts of houses of most wretched aspect, which cost, perhaps, as much as the building itself. Had the Spaniards been taught to seek the gratification of their pride in neat cottages and well tilled gardens, instead of these ostentatious and unreal enjoyments, how different would have been the appearance of their country at this day!

We left Irun, and as we ascended from the town we had 16th.
a fine view of the sea, which forms a kind of bay here, having on the outer point of the coast at one side, a French village, and on the other, Fontarabia, the walls of which were levelled to the ground by the British troops when they were about to enter France. The Lazaretto of Behobia was seen seated on a salubrious hill behind Irun. A fine mountain prospect opened before us, ridge rising beyond ridge, cottages scattered among them, and still permitting the eye to catch indistinct views of many higher peaks, blue and misty in the distance. Now and then we passed handsome valleys, green with herbage, or newly sown with wheat, peopled with cottages, and watered by limpid streams.

November. Passed through Oyarzún, a small town, the upper windows of the houses mostly covered with lattice-work, which projected from the walls, and opened in different compartments. Sometimes through a small square aperture of these lattices, a pretty face, animated with curiosity, was seen peeping; sometimes the whole lattice was open, giving to view the handsome busts of young women, who, under the pretext of seeing, wished only to be seen. In the balconies were generally ranged rows of large melons, as much for the benefit of the sun, as for exclusion from the smoke, which seemed a familiar guest in the interior of the house. The day was remarkably fine, the sun was traversing an unclouded sky, the mountain air, unvexed by rude currents of wind, softly penetrated to the heart, purifying and cheering its inmost recesses. The atmosphere was placid, and so silent that not a sound was to be heard on either side, save the soothing murmur of waters falling down the mountains, harmonizing with the perpetual tinkling of the mule-bells, and now and then a deep, prolonged peal from the tower of a convent or a village church.

Still ascending, we passed through Astigarraga and Andesain; the *Plazas de la Constitucion* all *fortified* after the manner of that of Irun. Arrived at Tolosa at night: bad dinner, for which we waited two hours; excellent red wine—indifferent beds. Tolosa is a considerable town, but it presents no particular features worth describing.

17th. We set out from Tolosa at half-past six in the morning. The dawning of a fine day soon after showed us a river running parallel with the road on the left hand. Beyond the river rose a high range of mountains, and immediately on our right was another range equally high and parallel with it. These mountains are covered to their summits with apple and pear-trees, and in some places afford herbage, but they are so steep that one wonders how the sheep which are seen

on their ridges could have climbed thither. Here and there a rude stone bridge, with one high arch, is thrown across the river, which, if a painter sketched with a carrier passing over it,—a cottage hard by, the grey smoke curling upwards from its chimney top,—high mountains on each side, crowned with fruit trees,—here and there a green spot, whitened with sheep, glowing in the partial beams of the rising sun,—and in the distance a mountain higher than all, its peak clothed with the golden morning,—he might render it the centre of one of those beautiful pictures which every turn of this road presents; but of which his pencil alone could afford an adequate idea. At one time a theatre of mountains is seen in front over which one imagines he must inevitably pass. But when he approaches nearer he finds an opening unperceived before, and, turning into it, he loses sight of the scenery he had just been enjoying, and lights upon new combinations that afford an endless and indescribable variety. November.

It being Sunday, we observed several groups of well-dressed peasantry going to or returning from the chapels in the villages. A wide-leafed hat turned up full at the sides, a brown jacket and trowsers, a vest generally of a gay pattern, a red worsted sash tied round the waist, white cotton stockings, and sandals, together with a cloak, formed the dress of the men. A few wore gaiters, round which were wrapped pieces of flannel. The women usually appeared in a white kerchief, tied loosely round the head and under the chin; under the corner that hung behind fell also their long platted hair, in which they seemed to take peculiar pride. A cotton slip, a coarse dark cloth spencer, cut low at the bosom, and a large white kerchief covering the bosom and neck, forcibly reminded me of the dress of the Irish women. The expression of countenance too, both in the

November. men and women, and particularly in the children, is perfectly Hibernian, and to complete the resemblance, we seldom met a peasant on the road who did not carry under his arm a long staff, which in Ireland would be called a shilelah. The only difference with respect to the appearance of the women was the long platted hair, and frequently a showy apron of a deep blue or violet colour.

In Villa Franca, as well as most of the towns and villages through which we had hitherto passed, the windows of the houses are quite small and unglazed. The manner is to fit a shutter to the aperture, which is seldom opened in the day-time, the object being to exclude the light and heat of the sun, which operates so powerfully in this country. In the better order of houses the windows are larger, and the upper pannels of the shutters are formed of glass.

The road from Villa Franca to Villa Real is far from being so interesting as that from Tolosa to the former place. The mountains are lower and less picturesque, and the river which accompanied us hitherto dwindled into a shallow, irregular stream. But the mountains, though lower, are not less fertile; they are clothed with a rich earth, which is well cultivated, and are crowned with fruit trees.

While an early dinner was in preparation at Villa Real—where, by the way, the posada is the only good one on the road—we strolled into the chapel, and were surprised at finding in such a village one so handsomely and richly ornamented. The altar is surrounded with Corinthian pillars, of green, red, and dark marble. The foliage of the capitals is richly gilt. They produce a chaste, and at the same time, a brilliant effect. The custom of burying the dead, immediately under the floors of the churches, seems to prevail every where in Spain except in Madrid. It is scarcely necessary to add, that such a custom is eminently

injurious to the health of the people, and ought to be abolished. Such churches and chapels as I have seen in Spain are also very badly ventilated, or rather not ventilated at all. The windows are few, of very limited size, and are never opened. The consequence is that upon entering those edifices when the door is first opened, an odour, such as is felt in sick rooms, offends the sense; and there are no means of removing it. In England it would be deemed of itself sufficient to produce a plague. The woman who showed us the chapel informed us that the clergy explained the Constitution every Sunday from the pulpit, and that the inhabitants were some for the new system, some against it. The point in which all were agreed was, a love of peace and quietness, as to the rest they were not particularly anxious one way or the other. November.

Shortly after leaving Villa Real, we ascended a new pile of mountains, the highest which we had yet traversed. Viewing the Pyrenees, from France, one imagines that they are only a single range, stretching from the Mediterranean to the ocean, and that having once passed the line, he has done with them; but when he crosses the frontiers, he finds, league after league, mountains rising beyond mountains. The road frequently passes over their summits, and in order to facilitate the ascent, it winds in a zig-zag course, the angles being sometimes very narrow, the roads steep, and running along the verges of precipices of great height. Soon after passing houses and men in the declivities the traveller ascends so high that on looking back he sees them suddenly dwindled into diminutive forms. It was constantly a source of wonder to a stranger to observe how carefully the mules trod along the brows of the precipices, going frequently to their very edge, where the road suddenly turns from one side to the other.

November. As we were passing through a village near Villa Real, a crowd of boys gathered around the voiture, and cried out repeatedly *Viva la Constitucion! Viva! Viva!* It was a novel way of begging a few quartos*, which seemed to be their principal object; but upon one of the passengers crying out *Viva el Rey!* they shouted *No—no! Viva la Constitucion!* To try his principle, the passenger offered a quarto to a boy if he would exclaim *Viva el Rey!* To do him justice, he rejected the offer. This was the first place that I observed any signs of enthusiasm in favour of the Constitution.

At every town we were accosted by a sentinel, who demanded our passports, which were not returned to us until after a very strict examination. The gates were rigidly watched by guards of soldiers. They were closed at sunset, and before we were permitted to enter, the *voiturier* was obliged to give a full account of his passengers.

We stopped for the night at Mondragon. On descending at the Posada, we found it filled with soldiers of the Constitution, who just marched in after an affair which they had had with a party of the "factious," about seven leagues from hence. They were in great spirits. Their whole occupation was in relating the result of the action, which they did with a juvenile air of triumph, and in singing songs of victory. In some of these a number joined in chorus, and their harmony was by no means unpleasing.

18th. We departed from Mondragon at four o'clock in the morning, the road still ascending over a lofty mountain. It is between this place and Salinas that the robbers gene-

* The Spanish quarto is a small copper coin, equivalent to a farthing, eight of which and a fraction amount to a real.

rally collect their *dues* from the traveller. Three or more brigands collect round the vehicle in which the passengers are seated; one of them presents a pistol, another a blunderbuss, and they tell you, very politely, that you will pass uninjured if you give them your money; but that if you do not deliver, you must prepare for the other world. After a short parley, however, which there is no difficulty in obtaining, they soften down their first demand to a settled tribute of two crowns a head, which satisfies them. They wish you a good journey, and are full of gracious compliments. November.

The mountains, as we proceeded, began to assume characters of nakedness and sterility to which we had been hitherto unaccustomed. A few produced fruit-trees, but the greater number were bare. After leaving these mountains, the eye is at length refreshed with the view of an open, a fertile, and a comparatively level country, and so it continues as far as Vittoria. This large and handsome city is seen in all its extent from a considerable distance. It is seated at the foot of a range of mountains, which extend on each side at the back of it to the utmost limits of the horizon, and its many steeples, spires, and lofty buildings, stand in distinct and high relief against the broad dark shade behind them. The road was busy with carriers and farmers, riding to and from Vittoria on their mules and ponies, in saddles with large wooden stirrups, which are made in the form of a square wooden slipper, if such a thing can be imagined, and admit the whole foot from the heel to the toe. Some rode in paddings formed chiefly of goatskin, without any stirrups, and from their great cloaks covering the whole back of the animal, one might sometimes almost have imagined the fable of the Centaurs realized, so much did the limbs of the quadruped seem to belong to the bust of the rider. There were several parties of soldiers on the road,

November. cooking their breakfast by large fires, which they hastily kindled; and peasants were seen coming from the town, laden with large round loaves of bread, and goatskins full of red wine, for their use. It may be here remarked, that the bread of Spain is generally of a very superior quality: beyond all comparison better than is found in France, better even than the bread of London.

The entrances of Vittoria were defended by new rough temporary walls, with port-holes in them. The town was inundated with soldiers. At the smiths' forges some were repairing their firelocks, some sharpening and brightening their swords; some had their horses shoeing. Every where we observed the bustle of warlike preparation. The sound of drums and trumpets drew us to the Plaza de la Constitucion, a magnificent square, where we found a body of about two thousand infantry drawn up, preparing to march against the "factious," towards the western part of the province. Before they moved, the commanding officer cried out "*Viva la Constitucion!*" It was answered by a loud *Viva* shouted along the whole line. "*Viva Riego!*"—another *Viva* replied by the soldiers. "*Viva el Rey Constitucional!*" was the third cry, which was answered in a similar manner. The drums and fifes then struck up the "Hymn of Riego," and the body proceeded at a slow rate, pacing in time to the music.

I looked into three or four of the principal churches. They were gloomy without being solemn; richly gilt, and decorated with paltry wooden images, which are inconsistent not only with the sublime simplicity of religion, but with the common rules of taste. The theatre, which has only been recently built, was nearly finished. It is small, and remarkably handsome, both as to the exterior and interior. The performances for the evening were advertised on a small written paper affixed to the door—a Drury-lane sheet of

large letter and eulogies in rubrick being an advanced state of the art, to which the dramatic authorities of Vittoria seemed not yet to have arrived. The theatre is of a semi-circular form, and it is lighted by a handsome glass lustre. It is called *Teatro Nacional*—for every thing which before the revolution had the epithet of Royal added to it is now called national. There are some fine streets in Vittoria, in most of which a considerable degree of industrious activity and an appearance of wealth appeared to prevail. November.

After remaining here for three or four hours, we returned to our voiture, and began to ascend the mountains beyond Vittoria. They are poorly cultivated, wild and steep, but they are the heights of La Puebla! the heights amidst which that battle was fought by the Duke of Wellington, which was soon followed by the expulsion of the French troops from the Peninsula. I looked about with a lively interest, thinking I might descry some of the bones of my victorious countrymen. It was an idle, and yet an irresistible impulse, for those relics of England's chivalry have long since mouldered in the dust. I looked also for a column, or a memorial of some sort, which I was confident the gratitude of Spain must have erected in a spot where the domination of the *stranger* was first turned to dismay. But nations are more inclined to remember the injuries which they mutually inflict, or suffer, than the benefits they receive. There is not even a grey stone set up to mark the cold repositories of so many English hearts and arms. These mountains are their only monument!

La Puebla is a village of the second order—the Posada barely tolerable. We found the hostess and a female attendant (whose woolly head and rude voice seemed to speak her just taken in to be tamed from some of the neighbouring rocks), and her companion, more civilized in her appearance, but

November. equally rough in her manners, all out of humour, scolding one another, and uttering ejaculations, as if disturbed by our arrival from the luxurious enjoyment of a lazy, sleepy, slothful evening. There were, however, beds for all, to which we retired after a slight supper, and the night speedily wore away until four o'clock in the morning, when we departed.

19th. We descended to Miranda de Ebro, and passed the bridge over the Ebro, which is here neither broad nor deep. At the bottom of the bridge, a new gate admitted us into the town, which is protected by a fortress, seated on a high rock. The only street through which we passed was narrow, and not very remarkable for its cleanliness. Whenever we came in sight of a town or village, it was a warning to prepare for close, unhealthy odours of every kind, and for broken roads, which shook the voiture from one side to the other. With the exception, however, of those in the villages and towns, the roads are perfectly superb, very much superior to those of France.

After passing out of Miranda, a range of mountains appeared directly before us, which we afterwards found to be of a remarkable character. At this moment (the sun was just appearing) those in front of us looked dark and barren; masses of gray clouds reposing all along their ridges. But to the left were seen mountains, whose tops were dyed in saffron and gold—tops, some of which consisted of piles of dark gray naked stone, and towered to the skies, like castles and battlements hoary with antiquity. On the right lay, at a distance, a third range, sweeping in the form of a semi-circle, its lower declivities green with pastures and corn-land, while its higher ascents and summits appeared to be covered with a brown mould, unfriendly to the toil of the husbandman. The rays of the morning soon pierced the hollows of

these mountains, giving their unfruitful breasts to view, and forming strong contrasts between them and the light-green fields that lay sheltered at their feet. November.

As we penetrated the mountain through which the straight road lay, we found it consisting mostly of immense rocks, piled horizontally one over the other, or standing perpendicularly, presenting a thousand shapes, and giving this part of the country a very peculiar character. It is while passing the village of Ameyubo that the traveller first perceives the wild and druidical aspect of these mountains. The road, after passing over a bridge, beneath which rushes an impetuous current, winds through the pass of Pancorvo, which would seem to have been formed and decorated by nature herself. Rocks, or rather immense slabs and blocks, rise to an amazing height on each side; some rough, like grotto-work—some slanting and fluted—some shaped like hideous monsters, couched near each other, their heads scowling down on the road, as if they were placed there to defend it; some of gigantic dimensions stand erect like sentinels on each side of the pass; some project over it, whose weight, if they fell, would have crushed our voiture, mules and all, to dust; some appear like pillars of Cyclopean gates, and some like the remains of ruined arches. There is one group of four or five hundred smaller rocks, which occupies the whole side of one of these mountains, and it required no imagination to assign to them the shapes of so many human beings, enveloped in hoods and mantles, some in prayer, some in meditation, but all as if occupied with the progress of some dreadful incantation, which they feared, yet dared to celebrate. Men and mules, moving through these strange scenes, appeared reduced to diminutive forms, and the works of men standing among them looked like the playthings of an infant.

After passing Pancorvo, this singular range of rocks con-

November. tinues on the right hand, but its summits and sides are covered with a black and barren mould; and though the weather was remarkably fine, and those summits are not very high, they were covered with dense mists, which brooded upon them all the day long. The left was bounded by hills of an inky hue, extensively cultivated, and forming in the gentleness and kindliness of their aspect an agreeable contrast with those on the opposite side.

In the early part of the afternoon we stopped to dine at Santa Maria, a small village. While dinner was preparing, and we were all standing in the shade, avoiding the heat of the sun, which was intense, a way-worn traveller came up and told us a long story of a robbery which was committed upon him near Tudela, in Navarre. Three of the robbers, or factious, for they are synonymous in Spain, ran after him, he said, suddenly from beneath the arch of a dry bridge, where they had concealed themselves. They plundered him of his little money and baggage, and made him exchange his good jacket for a vile one which one of them wore.

20th. The road from Santa Maria to Pradano, where we stopped for the night, was uninteresting. At the latter place we found the posada indifferent, and left it an early hour on the following morning. We arrived at Burgos at noon. The famous citadel of this place, which is now in ruins, was seated on the peak of a high hill, immediately over the town, made higher by artificial additions, and so steep, that to climb it is a work of considerable difficulty. The fortifications appear to have been most skilfully planned, and, to all appearance, impregnable. But nothing now remains of their towers, and curtains, and ramparts, save the traces of their foundations, and a small part of a castle and wall on the side towards the town. In these, some round apertures, perforated by the English artillery, still remain; but, with

one or two inconsiderable exceptions, the other parts of those once formidable walls are utterly demolished. The Cathedral of Burgos is a curious and, in some respects, a magnificent building. It is most elaborately ornamented on the outside with various figures, and its interior is decorated with equal minuteness. In the choir are two bronze pulpits; the great altar is magnificent, and nearly over it is suspended the famous standard of the Cross, which is said to have witnessed the death of upwards of two hundred thousand Saracens. In the vestry we were shown an old trunk, covered with red calf-skin and bound with iron clasps, which we were told had been once the military chest of the celebrated Cid. There are one or two handsome streets in Burgos, particularly that which runs along the side of the river. We left Burgos after a stay of two hours; and, after traversing a series of hills and plains, barren and uncultivated, covered with heath and broom, we arrived for the night at the petty miserable village of Cohillo. November.

We were now pretty well acquainted with the disadvantages of travelling in a country reputed to be disturbed. Every body with whom we had to do turned this state of things, in some way or other, to the purposes of profit. If the auberge were not well provided, the excuse was, that either the factious had taken away their stores, or they had none, for fear they should be taken away. Our arrangements with the voiturier we also found to have been little better than a gross deception on his part. We allowed him liberally for our expenses on the road; but in return he set us down at the very worst auberges to which his experience could direct him, in order that he might make the most of his bargain. At Cohillo a supper was served, which not even native Spaniards could touch. Imagine us all seated round a rickety deal table, covered with an old, torn, stained green baize, upon which were placed a soiled cloth, a bowl

November. of pottage, the odour of which was of itself an antidote to hunger, and a round deep dish of baked clay, in which were huddled together shreds of meat and vegetables exhausted of their nutriment. Two knives, three pewter forks, with one wooden spoon, were the only utensils upon which we could reckon, had we been disposed to use them. The room was little larger than the table. On each side were two bed-rooms, and on the same floor were the kitchen, the landlady's bed-room, and another sleeping-room, full of strange faces of carriers, muleteers, and pedestrian travellers, all very proper or very dangerous men for aught we knew. The hostess, an immense muscular woman, with a face as red as the fire at which she cooked our supper, and a voice as rude as the noise of a door creaking on rusty hinges, completely ruled every-thing and every body. She abused us all in the lump, for not eating of the dishes she had so much trouble in preparing; and from the time we entered her auberge until we left it, her tongue never ceased to wage war, except for the hour or two that it was subdued by slumber. The only symptom of gentleness about this horrid place was one of our attendants, a little girl of about nine or ten years of age; she was of slender figure, a mild and beautiful countenance, animated by eyes of dark hazel; her brown hair was negligently folded up on her head, her bodice was laced, in the old Spanish fashion, across the breast, and round her neck hung a silver cross, a locket, and one or two little silver trinkets. Her person, though cruelly neglected, seemed to belong to a very different sphere from that in which she was now placed. She was assisted by another little girl about her own age, quite a contrast to her in appearance, with rough hair, and a pallid fierce countenance; both seemed to be timorously submissive to the hostess, and performed the few duties with which they were troubled as if they were frightened at what they were doing. It was

observable that the only occasions on which our hostess spoke in any thing like woman's accent were when she addressed the pretty little girl; to the other she was as rude as to any body else. November.

We left this miserable place at three o'clock in the morning, and when the day appeared, we found ourselves in the midst of a hilly, heathy, barren country, offering no object, even of wild nature, worthy of notice. Passed through Lerma, a small wretched village, near which is a seat of the Duke del Infantado, and a convent for females, which is surrounded by a high wall. After leaving this village, the country all around is a complete desert; not a trace of cultivation to be seen any where, except the superb road we were traversing—not a sign of population, except that now and then we met peasants returning from the woods, their axes in their hands, and their donkies laden with fuel. To live, and to remove from the fire as seldom as possible, seemed to be the only objects in the world which these miserable-looking peasants cared about. There are vast tracts of land around them, which a little industry would render productive of corn and vines; it is painful to see how they have been neglected. In passing through them, one asks if this be Spain—a country so long subject to a regular government? And if it be, how has it come to pass that such extensive tracts of lands have never been reclaimed from their original state? Such is the aspect of the country, with very little variation, all the way to Aranda de Duero, where we found quarters, of which we had no right to complain after those of Cohillo. Aranda is among the considerable towns of Old Castile. 21st.

The nearer we advanced towards the metropolis, the aspect of the country became ruder, and the posadas still more incommodious and more miserable. After leaving Aranda, indeed, we saw a few vines for the first time, and a few fertile hills moderately cultivated. But, though the greater 22d.

November. part of the country is evidently capable of producing vines, fruit-trees, and, even, in many places, corn, it is left a mere waste—not a cottage to be seen for many miles, nor the least sign of industry. Extensive pastures without a sheep upon them, lands warmed by a genial sun, and irrigated by numerous streams, spread themselves every where around, inviting the attention of the husbandman, but inviting it in vain.

After ascending a considerable height, we came in view of the range of mountains called the Somosierra, whose tops were slightly sprinkled with the first snow of the season. Some plains on the right and left were cultivated, and the distant hills were here and there whitened with flocks of sheep. While ascending the Somosierra, we wound round the foot of one of its mountains, and came suddenly over an extensive vale on the right hand, which presented an interesting contrast to the snow-crowned mountains above it, and to the country through which we had been travelling for the last three days. In the middle of this valley stood a village, with a handsome church, near which was a bridge, thrown across a wide tranquil stream. The current came down from a distant hill, and, after meandering through the village, separated into several lesser streams, which flowed through corn lands and pastures, giving their surface a fresh and tender shade of green, seldom to be seen in Spain.

The night began to draw in as we penetrated the high and lonely mountains of the Somosierra. In one of its most solitary passes we overtook a party of villagers, who were returning from the woods. They were driving before them a number of donkies laden with faggots, and carried their axes on their shoulders. Several of them looked with prying curiosity into the voiture—very probably deliberating whether they ought not to levy a tribute on the travellers. The moon was shining brightly above our heads, in a cold frosty sky, a circumstance which was rather unfavourable to their

operations. At length we lost sight of them, and arrived at November.
an auberge, called La Venta de Juanilla, a large house, standing by itself in the mountains, surrounded by a high wall, and well defended by large strong gates. The night was so cold, that our first impulse was towards the kitchen fire, where we found a great pile of wood burning: the hostess, a large, well-humoured looking woman, seated at one side, and at the other an old matron nursing an infant, her grey hairs scattered thinly on her forehead, her countenance deeply furrowed with age and hardened like parchment. We were told that she was nearly a hundred years old. The supper was not yet ready, and I went out to look at the mountains. They appeared desolate and cold, the moon shining on the virgin snow, that lay like a light cloud on their tops. Not another house was to be seen for miles around, nor was a sound to be heard, save the distant bark of the shepherd's dog, and the falling of torrents from the precipices.

We left the Venta of Juanilla at five o'clock in the morn- 23d.
ing, and pursued our way still through the Somosierra; and after passing through Buitrago and Lozoyuela, both in the province of New Castile, we traversed a country the most remarkable, perhaps, that is to be found in Europe. Immediately before us was a range of mountains, entirely composed of blocks of stone, without the appearance of a single foot of earth. Not only these mountains, however, but the whole country, as far as the eye can reach on either side, is covered with similar large stones, many of which assume the most grotesque forms. The peasants have names for several of them—one they call the Friars Coffin, one the Cap of Liberty, another the Miller's Sack, and so on, from resemblances more or less striking, which they have found in these stones to the objects after which they have named them. But the most curious circumstance belonging to these unhewn and extensive quarries is this, that the stones do not appear to have been arranged by the usual operations of

November. nature; they seem many of them to have been thrown together by some violent revolution of the earth, many seem rounded by having been washed backwards and forwards for ages by the force of contending oceans. They are still undisturbed from the position which they first assumed after the disorders of the elements which placed them here were over, and they offer sources of the most interesting inquiries to the natural historian—sources which seem to have been hitherto left wholly unexplored.

We arrived for the night at the Venta of La Molara, another solitary auberge, in the midst of a wild and desolate heath. This posada is within eight leagues of Madrid, and yet, strange to say, it could only afford two beds. There was no supper to be had unless eggs and grapes,—a supper which more than one of our party would have every where gladly accepted. There was only one knife to be had, and that a rusty one; the spoons and forks were of wood! Slept in the voiture.

24th. After leaving this miserable place, our route lay through Cabanillas, San Augustin, and Alcobendas. As we approached the metropolis, we found the lands on each side of the road rich and well cultivated, chiefly disposed in vineyards and corn-fields, but there was scarcely a tree to be seen any where, except at a distance of three or four leagues on the right hand, where is situated the Pardo—a country palace belonging to the King. When we arrived within about a league of Madrid, it suddenly presented itself to our view with its numerous spires and steeples, standing almost, like Palmyra, in the midst of a desert. No shady groves, no avenues, no country seats, bespoke the approach to a great capital. Not an object of any sort was to be met worth describing, until we entered the barriers, which we passed at half-past one o'clock in the afternoon.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HALL OF CORTES.—THE MINISTERS.—STATE OF PARTIES.

ONE of the first places to which I bent my steps, the morning after my arrival in Madrid, was the hall of the Cortes. It is of an oval form, and has very much of a scenic appearance. The throne is at one extremity, and so near the wall, that there is scarcely room for a person to pass behind it. It consists of a chair of state, supported by two bronze gilt lions; the back of which is composed of standards, made in the form of the Roman fasces. On the top of it is placed a baronial helmet, adorned by a large ostrich feather, which droops over the seat. Over the chair of state is the inscription "Fernando VII. Padre de la Patria."—Ferdinand VII. the father of the country. On each side of this chair are two figures of Cariatides, one representing South America, and the other the Peninsula, which support a square canopy, covered with purple velvet, and decorated by curtains, which are festooned with golden ropes and tassels. The throne is elevated on a platform, which is covered with a handsome carpet. November.

One step below this there is another platform, covered with a carpet of a different pattern, upon which stands an oblong table for the President and six secretaries of Cortes. The President sits at one end, his back to the throne; three secretaries occupy each side of the table; at the end opposite to the President stands a silver crucifix. A small silver bell is placed near him on his right hand, which he rings when he feels it necessary to call any of the members to order. Copies of the Evangelists, of the Constitution,

November. the Decrees of Cortes, and books of authority are arranged upon the lower end of the table, and under it, for convenience of reference. The table is supported by metallic gilt standards, made in the shape of the fasces. The platform on which it is placed is a step higher than the floor of the hall.

There are twenty-two benches for the deputies, arranged in equal numbers at each side of the hall, which are cushioned and covered with purple velvet. The floor is tastefully carpeted, and mats are placed for the feet. A considerable segment of the oval figure of the hall is railed off for the bar, the floor of which is covered with green baize. In the centre are two marble pedestals, which support two large and beautiful bronze lions *couched*. These grasp in their fore claws a thick gilt rod, which is removed when the king goes to Cortes, but on no other occasion. Below the bar is a lofty pair of folding doors, through which his majesty and the royal family and the officers of state enter. During the sittings, these doors are guarded on the inside by two sentinels, who are dressed in silk and gold lace, hats and drooping feathers, after the style of the ancient Spanish costume. They hold gilt maces in their hands, and are relieved every hour. They look more like a pair of stage mutes than the officers of a senate.

The hall is hung with six large lustres, the tin sconces in which mar the elegance of the glass manufacture. Immediately before the throne are four bronze figures, sustaining sockets for wax lights. There are also several side lustres. They are seldom used, as the Cortes rarely sit at night.

The decorations consist principally of a number of casts from statues, which are well executed. Two, representing Genius and Honour, stand on each side of the throne; and four, representing the cardinal virtues, are placed two at each side, lower down. There are affixed to the wall several

large marble slabs, on which are written in letters of gold November
the names of Alvarez, D. Felix Acevedo, D. Luis Daois, D. Pedro Velardo, D. Juan Diaz Porlier, D. Luis Lacy, and D. Mariano Alvarez, men who have distinguished themselves by their exertions for liberty. Behind the throne are two slabs, on which are written, in letters of gold, the names of several men who have been celebrated as the peculiar defenders of the rights and liberties of Aragon and Castile. There are two oblong recesses filled with bassos relievos of events connected with the regeneration of Spain, and two cartoons of a similar character. On the front of the lower gallery the third article of the constitution is inscribed, asserting that "the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation; and, therefore, to it belongs exclusively the right of making its fundamental laws."

The only source of warmth which the hall affords consists of a small stove behind the throne, and two or three *braseros*, which are arranged at intervals in the middle of the floor. These are brass pans, supported in circular wooden frames, by which they are raised a few inches from the ground. They are filled with ignited coals, formed of charred brushwood—a most unwholesome fire, which, in close rooms, is dangerous to life, and emits scarcely any heat.

Spectators are not admitted below the bar, nor into the space appropriated to the deputies. But they are amply provided for by two large galleries, one over the other, which are at the lower extremity of the hall, opposite the throne. On the right of the throne, about half way between the floor and the ceiling, there is a tribune for the ambassadors, opposite to which is a similar recess, for the use of the officers of the guard attendant on the Cortes. In the central part of the hall, nearly on a level with the floor, there is a tribune for the ex-deputies, into which the deputies have the privilege of introducing their friends. A

November. similar tribune, exactly opposite to this, is occupied by the short-hand writers to the Cortes. It is the duty of these gentlemen to take down every word that is spoken, both in the public and private sittings. Their notes are afterwards written out, and printed under the control of the assembly in the journal of the Cortés, together with all the documents appertaining to the proceedings. The reporters to the public press are stationed at the two extremities of the front bench of the lower gallery, where a sufficient space is railed in for their exclusive convenience.

The Cortes begin their debates usually at half-past eleven in the forenoon; and unless some very important subject occupies them, they seldom sit beyond three o'clock. The deputies rise and speak from their places, like the members of the house of commons; and generally without the aid of written notes. There is a handsome rostrum on each side of the chair, but they are resorted to only when a member has to state a proposition which he submits to the consideration of the Cortes, when any of the secretaries has to make a communication with respect to the routine of business, or when official documents are to be read. The Constitution provides that the ministers shall not have seats in the Cortes; but this body is authorized to request the presence of any member, or all the members, of the cabinet, as often as it thinks expedient. When a question is put to the vote, those who are for the affirmative stand up in their places, those against it remain sitting. The voices are thus easily counted, and during a division, strangers are not excluded. When the question is one of great importance, the names of the members voting on each side are taken down.

The ministry of Martinez de la Rosa having lost its moral influence in the country, in consequence of a general, though, perhaps, an unjust suspicion, that they favoured the mutiny of the royal guards on the 7th of July, 1822; a new mi-

nistry was formed, composed of men who were marked out November.
for their determined zeal in support of the constitution. At the head of the new ministry is Evaristo San Miguel. He was chief of the staff in the army of the Isla, and performed his duties in a blameless manner. After this he became one of the principal members of the party of Freemasons, to which he owes his elevation. It may be here observed that this party was originally formed in Cadiz in the year 1812, and in the beginning they adopted the same system of toleration and philanthropy which is held by all the Freemasons of Europe. In 1814, upon the return of Ferdinand, and the re-establishment of the monstrous tribunal of the Inquisition, they were persecuted with peculiar malignity. But their internal organization serving them with the means of active secret communication, they formed the design of restoring liberty, and they exerted themselves strenuously to accomplish that object. The unsuccessful conspiracies of Lacy and of Porlier were planned and supported by this association. At last they were fortunate in the famous revolution of the Isla. All the operations of the Army which proclaimed the Constitution were arranged in the Lodges, and every thing done through the medium of freemasonry.

San Miguel is a young man who has acquired scarcely any political knowledge, and has not the slightest tact for diplomacy, extremely irritable, and impatient of censure, however gentle the form in which it may be conveyed. In distributing the various offices attached to his department, he has been charged with great partiality—a charge, indeed, to which every minister is liable, because he very naturally has the greatest confidence in those private friends with whose characters and abilities he is best acquainted. It is further charged against him, that he has not originated one single

November. measure which indicates a profound and happy genius, since he has been invested with office. He gets through the routine business with sufficient industry, but there is about him no attribute of a statesman. He was one of the editors of the journal called the *Espectador*, immediately before his elevation to office; and it is understood that he continues to support, as well as to control, that paper by his writings.

Lopez Banos, the Minister of War, was one of the Generals who commanded in the Army of the Isla. He evinced, however, some delay in joining the Constitutional party. He is considered a good soldier, but not skilled in what may be called the scientific division of his department.

Gasco, the Minister of the Interior, is considered to be a man of a firm and decided character. He is of active habits, and attached to liberty. He was an advocate, a profession comparatively obscure in Spain, because the Courts are not founded on a public basis; besides Gasco never acquired any eminence as a lawyer. It is believed that he has a sincere love for his country. He listens with affability to the advices which are occasionally given to him, but his great defect is, that he is not "up to the age."

The Minister of Grace and Justice, Navarro, is the declared enemy of all the usurpations and abuses of the Court of Rome. He is well versed in the canon laws, of an intelligent mind, but rather backward in that general reading which is necessary to a man who would express himself in Cortes in a lucid and impressive manner. He is of an austere, unamiable character, and rather a logician than a statesman.

Probity is a rare quality in the Spanish cabinet. It is affirmed, however, that the finance minister, Egea, is scrupulously honest. He works hard, is sufficiently acquainted with the routine of his office, has good intentions, but little

resolution. He considers the modern science of political economy as a mere farce. November.

Not so the ultra-marine minister, Vadillo, who is well grounded in political economy, a man of literature and knowledge. He was an advocate at Cadiz. He is blamed as too docile, and incapable of firm resolution. He has written some excellent works on the necessity of a free trade, for which he is a zealous partisan. He is considered a man of moderation and virtue.

The man who has perhaps acquired most weight in the ministry, after San Miguel, is Capaz, the minister of marine. When he was in Peru, he surrendered to Lord Cochrane the fine frigate of war the Maria Isabel, in a manner far from being honourable to his courage. It must, however, be observed, that most of the operations of this minister have been commented upon in violent, which is not always just, language. He is a decided enemy to South American independence, and to his representations is chiefly to be imputed the unfortunate policy which infects this, as well as the former governments, of sending out expeditions to the American continent. Report, perhaps calumny, says that these expeditions are not unproductive of gain to himself and his friends. Such is the preponderance which he has acquired in the state, that there are not a few of his party who desire his fall, that they may have at least a chance of succeeding him.

The treasurer-general, Yandiola, has no seat in the cabinet, but he is intimately connected with the present ministers, and generally consulted by them on all financial questions. He is rather a young man, forward, well educated; but though his manners are elegant and engaging, he has not been able to conciliate public opinion, which from the beginning has been adverse to him.

Besides the ministers, the leading men of Cortes, Augustin

November. and Canga Arguelles, Galiano, Isturitz, and a great majority of that body are of the party called Freemasons. It must be understood that in Spain the Society of Freemasons is chiefly of a political character. The members composing it are persons who co-operated for the restoration of the constitution in 1820; hence they were so closely connected with the troops, who assisted them with such effect on that occasion, that they naturally adopted principles which every day tended more and more to subject the country to the rule of a stratocrasy.

The ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, and the party which supported it, was understood to be of a character rather aristocratical. They were called *Anilleros* (men who wear rings), and they consisted of the higher classes of the nobility. It is believed that an opinion prevailed very generally amongst them in favour of certain modifications in the constitution, the principal of which was the establishment of a chamber of peers. Some hopes had been given, it is said, to the courts of Russia and France that the modifications which this party contemplated might be effected without the aid of foreign intervention. But those expectations were effectually frustrated by the events of the 7th of July, and from that period, it is added, the two powers just mentioned determined on compelling Spain by force of arms to alter her constitution.

The impulse which was communicated to the democratic principle of the constitution by the result of the events of the 7th of July gave birth to a third party, who called themselves *Communeros*. The leaders of this party, Palarea, Ballasteros, Romero Alpuente, Morales, and others, who participated by their personal exertions in the victory which was gained over the royal guards, conceived that they deserved equally well of their country for having preserved the constitution, as the Freemasons did for having restored it.

They soon gathered around them a very numerous party, November.
which assumed to itself an exclusive interest in the third article of the Constitution, that is to say, in the sovereignty of the people. Some time after the Freemasons came into office with San Miguel, the differences between them and the Communeros grew every day more prominent. The latter outstripped the former in numbers, and drew up a regular constitution, which was calculated to organise a popular confederation throughout the Peninsula *.

* See Appendix, No. I.

CHAPTER V.

THE LANDABURIAN SOCIETY.

November. AMONGST the officers of the royal guards who openly mutinied on the 7th of July was a lieutenant of the name of Landaburu. Animated by a fervent attachment to the Constitution, he refused, in the first moment of their proceedings, to take any part in them. I saw the stains of his blood on the pavement of one of the porches of the palace, where he was shot by one of his own company.

The Cortes, on the motion of Galiano, having recently authorised by law the re-opening of popular debating societies, about one hundred individuals of Madrid associated together for the purpose of informing the people of their rights, and instructing them in their duties. They elected for their president Romero Alpuente, a magistrate and an ex-deputy of Cortes, and they gave the name of Landaburu to their society.

The municipal government of Madrid assigned to their use the refectory of the suppressed convent of St. Thomas, an oblong hall, capable of accommodating four thousand persons. A third part of the hall is firmly railed in, and furnished with benches for the exclusive use of the members of the society and their friends; the remainder is fitted up with seats for the use of the public. At the end of that part of the hall which is appropriated to the members there is a painted cenotaph, on which is inscribed—*A la memoria del inmortel Landaburu.* Over the cenotaph is the following inscription:—*La soberania reside esencialmente en la nacion* —The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. Square

pieces of canvas are hung along the sides of the hall, on which are written several of the most important articles of the Constitution. On one of these, at the extremity, is written *Firmez y valor*—Firmness and courage; and on another, opposite to this, are the words, *Libertad y union*—Liberty and union. The rostrum is over the railing, and close by the wall, exactly in the form of a pulpit, and upon the front of it is written in large letters, *Constitucion o muerte*—The Constitution or death. The hall is well lighted; a guard of soldiers attends to preserve order, and a military band is present, which plays patriotic airs before the speeches commence, and in the intervals between them. The chairman sits under the cenotaph of Landaburu, and rings his bell when there is any disorder. The orator is generally a member of the society, and when he wishes to address the people, he must ascend the rostrum. A great number of the visitors consists of the fair sex, who are for the most part violent Constitutionalists—at least in Madrid. The meetings commence at seven, and terminate about half-past ten, on the evenings of Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. Applauses are signified either by vivas or by clapping of hands. The meeting uniformly concludes with a general shout of *Viva la Constitucion*, or *Viva Riego*, which, in general acceptation here, are synonymous. November.

It is not within the design of this work to enter into an historical account of the speeches delivered in the Landaburian society, still less to justify the extremes of declamation to which the orators very frequently resorted. But perhaps a few specimens of their debates may not be considered altogether uninteresting, inasmuch as they tend to elucidate the opinions and genius of that party which is the most enthusiastic, or, according to the prevailing phrase, the most *exalted*, in favour of the Constitution.

On one of the first occasions that I attended this society, 24th.

November. the tribune was occupied by the deputy Galiano. He maintained that the most important ends of these tribunes were to instruct the people in their duties, and also to censure the abuses of the Ministry. Upon the latter point he dwelt at some length, and enforced his opinion that the private lives of public men ought to be as much open to reprehension as their public conduct; for how, he asked, could a bad father, a faithless husband, and a false friend, be a good citizen, much less a good minister, or a good magistrate?—In a word, how could such a man be considered capable of discharging any one public duty towards the state? In his opinion, the popular tribunes ought to exercise a species of censorship over the morals of the community. He supported his doctrine by the maxim of Aristides, that, though a proposition were just in itself, and conducive to the welfare of the state, it should not be received when conveyed through a suspicious channel; and he cited several examples of censure on the private lives of public persons, from English and French writers. This doctrine was combated by Citizen Floran (such is the style), who contended that truth should always be respected, no matter how impure the mouth from which it proceeded.

Citizen Cortabarria said that, for his part, he would have nothing to do with the question which had been just discussed; his object was to call the attention of the assembly to another point of much greater interest for them,—namely, the armed intervention of the Sovereigns at Verona. Not that he believed they would dare to attempt any such thing, but that he might expose the probable result of such an intervention, upon the supposition that they had the audacity to direct it. After attacking the Northern Sovereigns, one after the other, for their ingratitude towards Spain, whose resistance to the tyranny of Buonaparte was the means by which they were raised from the dust, he

contended that the present French army was very different November.
from the legions of Jena and Austerlitz, which, however, the Spaniards had vanquished; that the soldiers constituting the Army of Observation, as well as the majority of the French people, loved the Spanish Constitution, and that the agents of the present French Ministry were the only degraded beings who used every exertion in their power to excite others against a Constitution which they detested, because it was truly free. Thus he reasoned, that if an invasion should take place through the instrumentality of the French army, it would be fatal only to the aggressors.

This speaker was followed by Citizen Morales, who went back to the question of censures on private character, which he vehemently deprecated, as it would lead to a system of infamous calumny and private delation. The true censor of a free country was public opinion formed on public conduct. He then touched on the events of the 7th of July, and the Congress of Verona; as also did Citizen Romero Alpuente, after which the meeting separated with shouts of "*Viva Riego!*"

On a subsequent night two boys from one of the 26th.
public schools sustained a dialogue (which, of course, had been prepared for them), in which they criticised the manner of conducting some of the newspapers of Madrid. They complained that the editors treated the most important political questions in such a way that nobody could understand what were their opinions concerning them; that they afforded no instruction to their readers, but threw before them a mass of matter which confused rather than enlightened the public mind. This dialogue caused a good deal of laughter.

The subject which most warmly engaged the attention of the meeting was the apprehended invasion. "The Sovereigns at Verona," said Citizen Morales, "threaten us with

November. an invasion in case we do not modify our Constitution. But not their menaces—no, nor an invasion supported by three hundred thousand of their slaves, shall ever bow down the heroism of the Spanish nation. What I fear is, that, backed by these menaces, there will not perhaps be wanting some pusillanimous Deputy, who, under the pretext of saving the country from the disasters of war, will propose to the Cortes the necessity of modifying the Constitution. Citizens! I have said, perhaps, because I cannot bring myself to believe it. The powers with which the Deputies are invested are no more than are necessary to make them the organs of their constituents—or, what is the same thing, the organs of the will of the nation, and that nation never will suffer the Constitution, to which it has sworn, to be altered in the most minute point. Citizens, the country might be in danger if such an invasion should take place, but not the Constitution—that shall remain inviolable—three hundred thousand arms are raised to support it."—(Enthusiastic applause.)

This orator was followed by Citizen Muralejo, who poured out a violent philippic against the higher orders of the Clergy. He dwelt on their revenues, their inutility, and, above all, on their animosity to the Constitution; to oppose which they were, he said, uniting all their means, both in money and personal exertions. The Cortes, he added, could not be unacquainted with these things, and when they were employed in regulating the Clergy, they should have driven out these drones, as useless to the country as they were prejudicial to the cause of liberty.

Romero Alpuente, on ascending the tribune, was received with those marks of applause which are usually conferred on popular leaders. After dwelling some time on the reports of the approaching invasion, he thus proceeded: "During the war of independence," said he, "we had in

our favour the host of friars, who feared they should lose November.
their revenues; but these are now our greatest enemies. We had also in our favour the aristocrats, who equally trembled for their riches and privileges; up to this time also, the men of literature and learning rivalled each other in supporting the cause of independence; but now—the thing must be openly confessed—now, some for one cause, some for another—all, all of these are our greatest enemies. What, then, is our remedy? Do you ask it? *We must annihilate them; we must do with them as was done in France, where, in one night, fourteen thousand were executed;* then we shall be without serviles, without neutrals: all patriots, and patriots only, and we shall be again in the same situation in which we were in the year 8." The orator, after arguing that England was self-interested in preserving the independence of Spain, because if it was destroyed the preponderance of power would pass to Russia, which would be the same thing as if it had passed to Napoleon, concluded his harangue with *Viva la Constitucion*, which was enthusiastically repeated.

Thus it may be observed, the members of the Landaburian Society delivered their sentiments with unbounded freedom, not to say licentiousness. There was no topic afloat in the capital that was interesting to the people which they did not discuss in all its bearings. Every night fresh crowds filled the hall. Like all large assemblies, they seemed verging constantly towards extremes, denouncing those who did not meet their wishes in every point, impatient of moderate measures, fickle in their admiration, and atrocious in their hatreds. The orators who usually harangued them seemed to me to be men of violent opinions, little knowledge, great forwardness, and very limited talent. Citizens Galiano, Floran, Romero Alpuente, Mexia, and Morales, are ex

December. ceptions to this remark, as far as it regards knowledge and ability. These orators spoke with a fluency which was sometimes energetic, if not eloquent; they were the most popular, especially Alpuente, who is the idol of the *exaltados*. This expression is equivalent to that of our ultra-radicals; and considering his age, the enthusiasm of his manner, and the principles which he professes, Alpuente may be called the Major Cartwright of Spain.

3d. In the early part of December a meeting of the Society took place, which, under all its circumstances, was rather a remarkable one, inasmuch as, at one period of it, it was feared that the people would have rushed out into the streets, and have raised the standard of sedition.

It must be premised that, during the evening, there was a report busily circulated in Madrid, that the chiefs of the mutiny of the 7th of July were released from prison by order of the Ministers, and that they were already several leagues from the metropolis, on their way out of the Peninsula. The decision of the Cortes, confirming the capitulation of Palarea and Placentia, by which the lives of those who surrendered to those Constitutional chiefs were saved, seemed to afford some grounds for the rumour. But though the lives of the leaders comprehended in these capitulations were thus protected, it was not doubted that they would be tried, and subjected to degradations, confiscations, and long imprisonments, in African or South American *presidios*. Besides these, there were several leaders in custody who were not comprehended in any capitulation, and who, it was as little doubted, would suffer death. The report stated that the leaders of both these classes were set at liberty on condition of quitting Spain without delay. It was true that the ex-Political Chief, San Martin, had been just liberated from prison, as there was no distinct charge found against him,

But the rest of the rumour was a mere exaggeration, got up very probably for the purpose of impelling the meeting to violent measures. December.

The business of the night was opened by Citizen Oller, who was followed by Citizen Romero; but they were scarcely attended to, so busy were the people in communicating to one another the rumour of the hour. In proportion as it was circulated, the exasperation of the crowd began to show itself in a very unequivocal manner. In the midst of this agitation, Citizen Floran ascended the tribune.

"What is it," he asked, "that agitates you? We ought all of us to be prepared to follow the march of things. What do you fear? Are you ignorant that in the midst of you are to be found the sentinels of liberty? Are you not well assured that we would every one of us perish before we should see this sacred temple of freedom profaned? What has happened to alarm you?"

Several voices answered, "Nothing—nothing can alarm us; we fear nothing."

"If I had not that confidence in you," continued the orator, "never, never should I have appeared in this tribune. I know well that, when summoned to defend your liberties, you are lions. But I have particular reasons for requesting the strictest order. This night, citizens, let us swear once more before the tomb of the hero who died for liberty—*the Constitution or death!*—Do you swear?"

"Yes—yes! we do swear!" answered the whole crowd unanimously. Tranquillity, however, did not follow this artful diversion; on the contrary, the music, which was struck up after Floran left the tribune, could scarcely be heard, so loud were the narratives and the expressions of indignation that rose from several groups in the hall. Citizen Oller again mounted the tribune; but his efforts to calm the mind of the multitude were to little purpose.

December. "Who is there amongst us," said he, "who would not shed the last drop of his blood in defence of our liberties, if they were in danger?—[Yes! they are in danger, exclaimed many voices.] Have the goodness to hear me. I trust that to-morrow we shall be able to acquire authentic information with respect to the intelligence which has excited your indignation—[*Vuestra exaltacion*—I know no English word equivalent to the latter—it signifies a passionate, an enthusiastic state of mind, which is not understood by the English word "exaltation."]—For the rest, it is absolutely necessary that your conduct should support these tribunes, which we have recovered with so much difficulty."

Still the agitation continued. In the midst of it Citizen Floran again appeared in the tribune. "*Viva la exaltacion!*" said he; "without it we should never have fully vindicated our liberties! Assuredly we now feel how much our inactivity has cost us; but, citizens, there never was an occasion when we ought to conduct ourselves with greater prudence than on this night. It is rumoured, in substance, that San Martin is, or is about to be, set at liberty; that Castro Terreno is, or is about to be, set at liberty."—[The indignation of the audience here rose to such a height, that some cried out, "Let us go in a body and ascertain the truth of this report—if it be true—— * * * * * * This movement, however, was opposed with effect.]—"Citizens," continued Floran, "I conjure you, in the name of that country which you adore, not to compromise this society. *Viva la Constitucion!*"—[This cry was repeated by the multitude; the band forced all their might into the instruments, that they might drown with patriotic song the murmurs of the people, but all in vain; the *exaltation* of the crowd rather increased than lessened. In the midst of this confusion, Citizen Gorostiza ascended the tribune.] He praised "the noble fire" by which the meeting was animated, but

at the same time conjured the people to wait until the morning to ascertain the real extent of the rumours by which they were agitated. (Yes, forsooth! by that time the criminals will be a hundred leagues from the capital.) "Citizens," he continued, "I should be false to my principles, if I addressed you on a point upon which I have not sufficient data. (We have them.) If any of you be fully acquainted with the facts, enter this tribune and relate them—I shall yield it with pleasure." [No answer was given to this invitation, and the orator digressed to the subject of the French Army of Observation, upon which he was heard with sufficient tranquillity.] He was followed by Citizen Perez Ribas, who unfortunately went back to the topic of the rumours, which, he said, if they were true, afforded strong grounds for alarm. [The criminals have escaped! exclaimed a voice in the crowd.] "Would to Heaven," added the speaker, "that all those who are like them were now a thousand leagues from the Peninsula! [Murmurs of disapprobation.] Citizens, I have given proofs of my patriotism, and you cannot justly doubt my sentiments. I would be heartily glad that all the criminals should expiate their treason on the scaffold; but, when we have no certain proofs to go upon, why should we be *exalted?* The Society has sent out persons to see what is going on in the capital, and they say that every thing remains perfectly tranquil. (Several voices —We want no moderation.) The question here is not about moderation; and I have repeatedly said in this tribune that I sincerely wished, because I thought it necessary, that all those implicated in the events of the 7th of July should pay the forfeit of their crimes. (One voice—We want no deceivers.) The question here is as little about deceivers. For my part, I will not approve the conduct of government, if these reports be true; but, until we know that they are true, how can we take any part? (A voice—They are true. I have seen the culprits on their way out of the Peninsula.) December.

December. Citizens, I have sworn to die for the Constitution; I am ready to fulfil this oath: do you desire more? He who interrupts me, let him mount this tribune, and show that he has done more for the cause of liberty than I have done. Citizens, whilst the defenders of the 7th of July exist, you have nothing to fear; but let us hope that the day is distant when it may be necessary for that body to prove its valour once more. Remember that you have need of much precaution; consider what a triumph it would be for the Serviles* if, upon the ground of such rumours as these, of the truth of which we are not assured, we should rush out into the streets and make a tumult." (Yes, the report is true, exclaimed many voices; we know it to be true.)

Citizen Floran occupied the tribune for the third time. "Citizens," said he, "do me the favour to hear me. Floran has often assured you that the orators who are in the habit of addressing you are worthy of your confidence; but if you doubt them, it is in the power of any one amongst you to enter this tribune, and to show the contrary. The people are sovereign; but you ought to respect this place. This very night it is perhaps essentially necessary for you, above all others, to preserve silence and order. No more murmurs then; he who has any thing to say, let him ascend this tribune. It matters not if you are unaccustomed to the art of speaking in rounded phrases; all that the country requires is that you may speak of its interests. For the rest, you well know that those men whose love of liberty has identified them with the country are sufficient to crush all our enemies, even though the Congress of Verona and France should come forward, trailing behind them the chains of slavery. Let the signal of battle be given—then you will be seen in the proud attitude of free men combating for your liberties, and conquering its enemies. Yes—you will conquer them, since

* Those inclined to the old regime.

one free man is worth three thousand slaves. Thus animated by the spirit of liberty, three hundred Greeks vanquished as many millions who sought to oppress them." (This address to the passions produced no effect; Floran, popular as he is, was obliged to stop, so great was the confusion of many voices, all raised to tones of indignation. The Vicé-President rung his bell in vain, and threatened to put an end to the sitting, if order were not restored.) December.

It was now ten o'clock, and the return of order appeared very unlikely, until Romero Alpuente took his seat as President of the Society. He was received with repeated *vivas*, as was also the Political Chief of the province (Palarea), who came in shortly after.

Citizen Gorostiza took this opportunity of announcing the flight of the "Regency" of Urgel from the territory of Spain.

Alpuente ascended the tribune. It was some time before he could speak, so incessant and boisterous were the applauses with which he was received. At length he was audible. "Citizens," said he, "it appears that tranquillity has been a little interrupted here, by the reports which are current about this devil of a *Tintin*. [*Tintin* is a nick-name for San Martin.] The Society will have first to verify the fact, next to examine the motives which led to his apprehension, and thirdly to inquire why these motives have disappeared. These were points into which they could not enter at present, as they had not sufficient data; and he therefore recommended them to let the inquiry stand over." The orator then delivered a homily upon the necessity of applying themselves to the acquisition of political knowledge. "Knowledge alone," he contended, "formed the grounds for that preference which one man gained over another, and free citizens ought to emulate each other in pursuing it, as they would be all thus enabled in turn to serve their country.

December. Two hours were enough for eating, eight hours for sleeping, four for amusement and visiting, and the remaining ten of the twenty-four should be dedicated to intellectual acquirements." Alpuente was heard calmly, the sitting ended, the meeting quietly dispersed, and thus ended the business of this threatening evening.

5th. The subject was resumed in the subsequent meeting by Citizen Floran. "*Tintin* is at liberty!! the ex-Political Chief of Madrid—San Martin—who disappeared from our ranks, and joined the conspirators! Neither here, nor in the provinces, was any man ignorant that he acted with the associations which were formed against our freedom—and he is set at liberty! But who could have done this? And if it have been done, are the Spanish people of so little value that they do not deserve to be informed of a measure so extraordinary? If the people of Madrid had not had so much discretion, who can doubt that on the night when this intelligence was first communicated they would have been . . . . . that which their enemies so much fear? And then, when the streets might have flowed with blood, what would those enemies have had to say for themselves? If they are making experiments on the patience of the Spanish people, may they one day feel the effects of its resentment! The perverse wish that we should rise one against the other, that friend should raise his hand against friend, and brother against brother. How they deceive themselves! The Spanish people take up arms only against their tyrants. Why all this mystery in the proceedings? Because they are carried on without justice and without reason. Nothing is so convenient as darkness to cover hands that are employed in the protection of crime. Woe! woe betide thee, Spain! if the same decision take place with respect to the other culprits! Citizens! if it be certain that patriotism rose to its acme on the 7th of July—if it be certain that on that day the tree of

liberty shot forth its roots, it is equally true that since that December.
day a monster has been continually removing the earth which covers them, in order that, being exposed to the air, they may wither. But, malignants, tremble! never shall you obtain the object which you propose! Your blood shall water them; it shall make them grow, and spread more verdantly than ever. Yes, be assured that for every step which you take to weaken our force, the sons of liberty shall exert all their vigour even to the last gasp of life, and they shall perish or trample on the tomb of their tyrants!" (A loud shout of *exaltation*, which continued for several minutes.)

"We have seen," said Citizen Morales, "the palace of a constitutional king converted into a garrison of enemies to the country, and we have seen that those same enemies were the persons who surrounded and advised that king. What was the result? The people triumphed, because it was resolved not to bear the yoke of despotism. Five months have elapsed since that period, and what has been done with those criminals? They walk in the streets of Madrid! With such impunity as this, I should not be surprised to find another 7th of July, and one fraught with more extensive evils, in a course of preparation. Do you not remember the infamous project for disarming the militia? If it had taken place, what would have been our situation? And yet the men who wanted to carry this project into effect remain, and are likely to remain, unpunished! This impunity is the origin of all our misfortunes, yet it continues! To what purpose are the valour and the bayonets of Mina against a faction which is so strongly supported in the Cortes? Laying aside forms and phrases, which mean only to delude, I say that this impunity for the criminals is nothing less than treason against the State. To what end have we laws, if they be not executed? It were better, in my opinion, to have no laws, where they are *no* more than a phantom in the hands of the powerful to oppress

December. the people. There were laws in the time of the despotism but Spaniards were not the less slaves; it is the same case to-day. To what end have we a Constitution, about whose preservation so much noise is made, if it be not strictly and impartially enforced? Citizens, undeceive yourselves. We are not free—nor can we be free whilst the laws do not coerce the high as well as the low. We shall have no country—we shall be slaves, though wearing the cap of liberty, so long as the cause of the 7th of July follows not the course which justice points out. We are charged with violence. Yes!—the speeches which are delivered here are 'atrocious,' because they discover the hypocrites; they are 'atrocious,' because they cry out against so scandalous an abuse. Ah! if in the beginning the heads of the delinquents had fallen, we should not have seen the beautiful fields of Catalonia turned into wastes, covered with mourning and desolation. Citizens, if this impunity continue, prepare yourselves for suffering incalculable evils. Justice! justice! is the only means of saving the country: in no other manner can it be effected, unless our revolution degenerates into anarchy. Execute the laws, and the factious will be speedily quelled. Without justice the Constitution is no more than an empty name."

Nothing appeared to me more extraordinary in these assemblies than the faculty for public speaking which almost every person who appeared in the tribune possessed. The construction and copiousness of the Spanish language are indeed peculiarly favourable to oratory: when clearly pronounced, it is a language delightful to the ear. It is besides so expressive, that even in the height of passion it is equal to the fervour of the mind, and very seldom stands in need of periphrasis or of illustration. In common conversation the fluency of Spaniards is almost oppressive to an Englishman; and he is apt to suspect that where there are so many words, there

may be a defect of thought; that when promises or threats are most abundant, the heart to resolve, and the hand to execute, are slow to pursue them. December.

It cannot be denied that the speeches delivered in this society had a powerful influence, not only on the people of Madrid, but on the whole country. Similar societies were established in Barcelona, Granada, Valencia, and other places; and from the reports of their proceedings it appeared that they very generally repeated the sentiments of the orators of the capital. It was impossible for me to agree with those persons who represented the *exaggerations* of the Landaburians as mere rhetorical declamations, which passed over the heads of the people without producing any impression on their principles. It cannot but be observed that they were beginning to tread as nearly as possible in the footsteps of the French Jacobins—a faction which first turned aside the revolution of France from its original calm and legal progress. It was therefore apprehended by many reasonable men, that unless some measures were taken to counteract the effects of the Landaburian oratory, we should soon witness in Madrid transcripts of those scenes which deluged the streets of Paris with blood.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

December. It was observable that soon after the unsuccessful mutiny of the royal guards in July, the bands of armed men, who called themselves the "Army of the Faith," and were stigmatized by their enemies with the appellation of "the Factious," were considerably augmented in the three frontier provinces of Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre. It was suspected, with every probability of justice, that the ultra-royalist party in France, of which the Duke of Angouleme is the head, found means to supply the chieftains of the "factious" with money, arms, and clothing. Certain it is, that the conversion of the *Cordon Sanitaire* into an "army of observation," the increase of that army, and the friendly reception which all the royalist Spanish refugees experienced in France, lent at least a moral support to the "factious," and taught them to expect that the period was not far distant when they might count upon more effectual assistance.

All the efforts of the Spanish government were vigorously applied to the extirpation of these armed opponents of the constitution. Mina marched in blood through the fair fields of Catalonia up to the very seat of the "Regency" in the Seo de Urgel, whence he succeeded in expelling that self-constituted authority. Torrijos, a young and sanguinary commander, had orders to clear Aragon of the "factious." Similar instructions had been given to Carlos Espinosa in Navarre; and it cannot be doubted that both these chieftains used the most sincere endeavours to obey them. Indeed, the orders which were sent generally to the provinces with respect to those who were not active supporters of the existing system, would seem to have emanated from a conclave of

men little accustomed to the usages of civilized warfare. December.
What, for instance, is to be said to the commander who, after receiving prisoners, upon the usual understanding that their lives should be spared, selects a certain number, and orders them to be shot? Not only has this barbarous outrage upon humanity been perpetrated by the constitutional chieftains, but in more than one instance they have taken out unarmed inhabitants from their houses, and upon mere oral information that they were of the "factious," without a trial, or a legal inquiry of any sort, they commanded them to be put to death. It was no uncommon circumstance to read in the provincial papers that such a person was shot in such a village at "the request of the people;" that is to say, a mob raised a clamour against an individual, and without ascertaining whether he was guilty or innocent, the authorities ordered the sentence of the "sovereign people" to be executed. And these facts were related without a single observation expressive of surprise or sympathy, as if they were in the common course of justice. Cruelty is not stripped of its criminality by whatever party it is exercised; and it appears still more sanguinary in its character when it is adopted by that side which bears at least the legal semblance of supremacy.

Those very energies, however, which the government was compelled to put forth for the extinction of the insurgents, tended only to augment the financial embarrassments of the country, and to spread still wider the flame of discontent. The loan which had been contracted in the November of 1821 with the house of Ardoin, Hubbard, and Co. though apparently calculated to place one hundred and forty millions of reals at the disposal of the finance minister for supplying the deficiencies of the year, fell very short of its expected effect. In March, 1822, the deficiency of the general revenue amounted to nearly two hundred millions of

December. reals*. This deficit the government proposed to cover, not by an increase of taxes, nor by having recourse to a new loan, but by reducing the expenditure to the measure of the income. The fault of almost all the ministers who held the helm of the state since the restoration of the constitution was, that of resolving too much on the principles of theorists and optimists, without providing against the difficulties which they had to encounter in practice. The possibility of making new reductions in the public expenditure, after the sweeping reforms which the Cortes had already accomplished, could scarcely have been contemplated, however much it might have been desired. In point of fact, the deficit was not covered in the way proposed; on the contrary, the agitated and harassed state of the whole country caused the revenue to be collected with greater difficulty than ever, whilst its expenditure was increased; and on the 3rd of December in the same year a committee of Cortes proposed that new rents to the amount of forty millions of reals should be inscribed in the great book, in order to meet the extraordinary exigencies of the state†.

The contributions and revenues which at this period formed the national income of Spain arose from the following sources:

	Reals.
Land tax estimated at ‡	150,000,000
Tax on the clergy	20,000,000
Arrears of tithes	10,000,000
Tax on houses	10,000,000
Patents (licences for trade)	12,000,000
Duties on consumption	100,000,000
Carried over	302,000,000

* See the Finance Report laid before Cortes on the 5th of March, 1822.

† It was estimated that these 40 millions of reals rents would sell in the market for about four millions sterling.

‡ If the English reader will allow 10l. sterling for every 1000 reals, he may easily ascertain the amount of these sums in British money.

December.

	Reals.
Brought forward - -	302,000,000
Tobacco - - - -	65,000,000
Salt - - - -	39,000,000
Customs - - -	60,000,000
Registration duties - - -	30,000,000
Stamped paper - - -	18,000,000
Church bulls - - - -	12,000,000
Lotteries - - - -	10,000,000
Post Office - - - -	10,000,000
Duties, half yearly, deduction on appointment to office, &c. - -	4,000,000
	550,000,000

This income was collected at a charge of 113,763,457 reals, which is not included in the above estimate; and, being added to it, therefore it makes the whole amount of the estimated receipts of the year 663,763,457.

The expenditure was estimated as follows:

	Reals Vellon.
Rents inscribed in the Great Book for paying the interest on the loan of 200,000,000 reals, negotiated with the house of Laffitte and Co. of Paris, in November, 1820, and also of that of 140,000,000 reals, contracted with the house of Ardoin, Hubbard, and Co. in November, 1821 - - - - -	90,000,000
Sinking Fund on the above loans -	50,000,000
Ministry of War in *peace* - -	280,000,000
Marine - - - -	100,000,000
Home Department - - -	100,000,000
Justice - - - -	30,000,000
Foreign Affairs - - -	20,000,000
Ministry of Finance, with pensions -	60,000,000
Royal Household - - -	46,000,000
New inscriptions in the Great Book -	40,000,000
	816,000,000
Net estimated receipts - - -	550,000,000
Estimated deficit - - -	266,000,000

December. In addition to this estimated deficit, the Finance Minister stated in his report to Cortes in the November of this year, that there was another deficiency also to be provided for, amounting to 191,255,313 reals, which remained over from the two last financial years. This is the deficit alluded to in the Finance report of March, 1822, already referred to, and here we see how erroneous were the calculations of the minister, who proposed that it should be covered by reductions in the expenditure.

There was, besides these, a third deficit more alarming perhaps than all the rest, as it affected the current means of the year. We have seen that the net receipts of the year were estimated at 550,000,000 reals. The actual receipts fell short of this sum in the amount of one hundred and sixty-one millions of reals. Nothing had been received from Catalonia in the shape of contributions during this year. In Navarre, Calatayud, Lerida, and Gerona, the people actually resisted the demands of the collectors. The latter called on the commanding officers for military aid, and the answer which these gave was, that they had no troops to spare. Thus then there were three heads of deficit.

	Reals.
Two previous financial years - -	191,255,313
Present financial year - -	266,000,000
Falling off of income - - -	161,000,000
Total deficit - - -	618,255,313

Having been present at the Cortes on the day this report was discussed, I was not a little astonished at the manner in which that body treated it. They appeared to me to be afraid to look their danger in the face, and reminded me of an inconsiderate nobleman, who, when his steward presented him his annual account, showing increase of debt and diminution of income, thought he applied a sufficient remedy to the case by throwing the book in the fire.

Thus, for instance, it was argued, and the argument was sanctioned by the whole Cortes, that the deficit for the current year of a hundred and sixty-one millions of reals was calculated only on probabilities, the data for which were taken partly from the months of June, July, and August last, an epoch when the vessel of the state was contending against the storm by which it was assailed; that although there might have been a delay in the payments of the taxes, it did not follow that they never would be paid; that until the termination of the financial year it could not be ascertained what the amount of the deficit would really be; and that it was premature at present to set down that as a deficit which was no more than an irregularity in the payment of the contributions—an irregularity that might be repaired in the course of the remaining months. The Government, it was further said, had it in their power to render effective the means which were granted to them, and the means so granted were sufficient to meet the necessities of the state. That is to say, the Finance Minister had it in his power to call on the commanding officers in the provinces for military assistance to enforce the payment of the contributions: the commanding officers answered, that they had no troops to spare, because in fact there was not money to pay them; and thus the Cortes went on in a circle of complete delusion, which it was impossible they could have believed, though they legislated upon the supposition of its truth. Was this done with the view of leading foreign countries to think that the finances of Spain were not in a deplorable condition; and that her revenues were not likely to be materially affected by her intestine divisions?

The English reader who has not attended much to the financial affairs of the Peninsula, may, perhaps, have been a little surprised not to find enumerated amongst the ways and means of the country, the suppressed convents, the

December. property of the Inquisition, the confiscated estates of Godoy the Prince of Peace, the suppressed estates of the king, the mines of Almaden and Rio Tinto, the temporalities of the Jesuits, and the military orders, and the proceeds arising out of all sorts of religious property, which was secularised at the Revolution, and appropriated to the exigencies of the state. It is necessary, therefore, to state, that previous to the restoration of the Constitution, Spain was burthened by a large national debt, composed of credits with interest, and credits without interest. By a decree of Cortes, bearing date the 29th of November, 1820, it was enacted that the property above-mentioned, and all other which was embraced under the title of national property, should be appropriated, one part to pay the interest on the debt that bore interest; and the other to extinguish the capitals of the debt which bore no interest. The part of the national property applicable to the latter was to be sold off by public auction, at stated periods. A national junta of public credit was formed for the purpose of managing the two classes of property.

The old debt which bore interest, and the old debt which bore no interest, were both represented by vouchers on paper, which the national junta issued to each claimant as soon as his claim was acknowledged. The latter class of paper was at a discount of from 85 to 90 per cent for money, although the junta was compellable to take it at its full nominal amount in payment for the national property which it sold by auction.

With respect to the new rentes of 40 millions of reals, it remains to be stated, that the ministers intimated their readiness to receive proposals for the sale of bonds for the whole sum; or to constitute one or more houses the agents of the government, to sell the bonds on commission, provided that such houses were willing to advance a sum on account for the pressing necessities of the state. At first,

several competitors were spoken of; but the only parties known to have entered into negotiations on the subject were Mr. Piedra, partner in the firm of Bernales and Nephew, of London, and Mr. Simon Cock, agent for several capitalists also of London*. December.

No actual offer was for some time made by Mr. Cock, his proceedings being limited to an inquiry whether the government would entertain an offer on the principle that his friends should have the sale of the bonds on commission, the amount of such commission to be regulated by the price of the bonds; they undertaking to guarantee to the government that a stated amount of the bonds first disposed of should produce a certain sum per cent. Another of the proposed conditions was, that the contractors should supply the government with arms and military

* The primary object of Mr. Cock's visit to Madrid was, to obtain compensation for several British ships and cargoes which had been seized and condemned by the Spanish authorities for having traded with the late Spanish settlements in South America, in violation of the laws of the Indies, which laws, notwithstanding that several of those countries have some years ago asserted their independence, the Spanish government professed to consider to be in full force. It being soon known that Mr. Cock, besides being the agent of the ship-owners, was clothed with full power to treat for a loan for the whole sum required by the government, every means were tried to induce him to come forward with proposals. He, however, gave it to be distinctly understood, that unless the fullest satisfaction was made to the British ship-owners and merchants for their losses, he could not think of making any proposals, since the inevitable consequence of denying them that justice must be, that serious differences would arise between the two nations; but that as soon as the demands of the British minister on that head were satisfied, Mr. Cock would be ready to treat for the loan. Accordingly the very day after that on which it was signified to Sir Wm. A'Court, the British Minister at Madrid, that the government would make full compensation for the value of the ships and cargoes, Mr. Cock commenced his negotiation.

December. clothing, at the current prices, to the amount of one or two millions sterling, as might be wanted, payment for the articles as delivered, being made in bonds. The remainder of the bonds to be sold for account of the government, after the lapse of a certain period, and an account of the proceeds rendered monthly. A sum equivalent to one-fifth part of the whole proceeds of the bonds was to be paid into the Bank of England in the joint names of the Spanish ambassador, and the contractors, to form a fund for the payment of the half-yearly dividends on the bonds. There was a further stipulation for the protection of the contractors, in the event of Spain being involved in war with France, or any other power.

It cannot be doubted that, situated as the Spanish government was, a contract on the principle thus proposed was every way eligible for them, and in this light it appeared to be considered; but then it involved a most important question, namely, the removal of the British Order in Council, which prohibited the exportation of arms, military clothing, and munitions of war, from England to Spain and her colonies; for without the removal of this prohibition, that important part of the proposed contract which regarded a supply of those articles could not be carried into effect. The Spanish government had been previously officially informed, that the prohibition could not be removed as to Spain, without being also rescinded as to the new Governments in South America.

As Mr. Cock did not think fit to give up this important part of the plan, upon the principles of which he was ready to make a proposal; and the government did not feel themselves in a situation to receive the arms and clothing on the only condition upon which they could receive them, the negotiation was ended by the expression of the regret of the government that they could not treat with Mr. Cock on the present

occasion; and of their hope, that a future and more favour- December.
able opportunity might arrive. The offer of Mr. Piedra being finally the only one left, and the wants of the government not admitting of delay, it was accepted *.

The agreement with this gentleman was to the effect, that Bernales and Nephew should have the whole of the bonds for 40 millions of reals of rentes, to sell on commission, for account of the government, on condition of their relieving the pressing wants of the government by accepting draughts for 800,000*l.* at three months date. To meet such engagements, Bernales and Nephew were to sell bonds to the requisite amount; but were not until the market had been tried for two months, to sell them under a certain price. As soon as the terms of this contract were publicly known, it was generally conjectured that a large amount of the bonds would be brought into the market, to furnish the funds with which Messrs. Bernales and Nephew were to meet their engagements. The consequence of this, added to the growing apprehension of a French war, was, that the price of the bonds fell suddenly to a degree that appears to have alarmed them; for after having accepted upwards of 70,000*l.* of the draughts, they refused to go further. The remainder of them, therefore, to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds which the government had negotiated before they heard of the demur on the part of the contractors, were returned dishonoured. Under these circumstances the bonds for the rentes were not put into circulation.

It is understood that Mr. Bernales justifies his non-performance of the contract, upon the ground that the bonds

* The period of this transaction is, for the sake of convenience, anticipated. The offer of Mr. Piedra was agreed to on the 12th of January, 1823.

December. were not ready to be delivered to him within the time agreed upon.

The Cortes had brought upon themselves no slight degree of unpopularity, by the precipitate manner in which they suppressed the convents; and they gained no recompense for it in the accession of revenue which was derivable from this class of national property. Let it not be supposed that I defend the establishment of convents in such numbers as they formerly existed in Spain. Men's minds in that country are naturally of a pensive turn, and more than any other people, perhaps, they have need of retirements, where they can wholly devote themselves to that luxury of melancholy meditation, which is amongst the most amiable weaknesses of the human heart. Still the custom of religious seclusion increased to such a magnitude, that it was necessary to reduce it within rational limits. But the Cortes might have gone to work with it in a different manner. They might have said to a certain number of convents, "You shall receive no further addition to your present numbers: you may remain peaceable in your cells; you enjoy a revenue of six thousand dollars; the urgent necessities of the state demand that you shall pay a yearly contribution of two thousand dollars, and in proportion as your numbers are lessened, this contribution must be increased until the brotherhood ceases to exist. When that is the case, the convent, and lands attached to it, shall become national property." To others they might have said, "You may remain as you are, on the condition that you confine your numbers to a certain amount, which you may perpetually preserve by filling up vacancies as they may be caused by deaths, and on the further condition that you contribute a third part of your revenue to the state." Had the Cortes done this, the conditions required to be performed, on the part of the convents, would probably have been fulfilled, the government would have had a secure

revenue to a very considerable amount, and they would have saved themselves from the disagreeable task of turning out communities of poor old men, whose grey hairs entitled them to more lenient consideration, from those cloisters where they had hoped to measure the few remaining days of their existence. And what has been the result of it? Those convents which have been so rudely suppressed have been exposed to sale, as well as the lands appertaining to them, and in very few places has a purchaser been found. It may be called religious fanaticism, or monkish influence; but such is the character of the people, they would deem it a sacrilege to appropriate to their own use the lands of a convent. See then the consequences. Those very resources which the Cortes imagined the most ready and the most productive, turned out to be mere incumbrances on their hands. They raised for themselves hosts of well organised and influential enemies, in every part of the country, in the ruined communities, and there is no calculating the extent of the odium which they incurred among the people, who deemed their religion insulted, and felt all their early prejudices offended by this sweeping annihilation of the monasteries. I do not defend their prejudices; I well know that monasteries form no essential part of their religion; nor do I think they have much reason to regret the decline of that monkish influence, which, whether exerted for good or evil ends, was at least liable to suspicion. All I say is, that such were their prejudices, such their feelings and dispositions; and he must be little acquainted with human nature who would wantonly wage war against these strong foundations of national character. December.

The unpopularity of this measure was evident from the number of petitions which were presented to the Cortes against the suppression of various convents. Those petitions were signed by numbers of the people, and often expressed,

December. in an affecting manner, their attachment to those ancient institutions. The case of the convent of the Batuecas was deemed particularly severe. It was situated in a wild mountainous country, where the population is scattered in little hamlets. The people seem, from the simplicity and innocence of their manners, to belong to the primitive ages of the world. Few of them have ever gone beyond the precincts of their peculiar territory; the arts and vices of the world are unknown to them; their days pass away in pastoral occupations, unmarked by strifes or injustice of any sort, and their evenings are usually closed by works of piety, intermingled occasionally with such musical enjoyments as they can derive from a rude knowledge of the tambour and guitar. The convent was the principal source of religious information, of spiritual assistance, and of medicinal relief, which the Batuecan shepherds possessed. It was occupied by fifteen monks, who, it was asserted (and the assertion was not contradicted), spent their whole time in religious exercises, and works of practical virtue, never hesitating, at any hour of the night, to traverse the coldest mountains, to administer the consolation of their sacred functions to those who required them. They never evinced a disposition to mingle in the civil war which afflicted the country: the ruggedness of the territory in which the convent was placed was a security that it could never be fixed upon as an asylum for arms and provisions of the factious. The locality of the establishment; the thousand recollections by which it was endeared to the simple race of people around it, and its acknowledged utility in such a situation, were however pleaded in vain for its continuance; it was subjected to the rigid law of suppression. It was the first public calamity which the people of the Batuecas experienced; it was not doubted that they would, one and all, resent it as a wanton act of hostility on the part of the government.

It was considered a great misfortune in the constitution of the present Cortes, that there were very few of the deputies men of property. To the majority the stipend * paid for their attendance was an object of primary consideration. Nobody would say that a poor man might not be a good legislator. But when it is considered that almost every law which is enacted has an immediate or remote influence upon property, it would perhaps be desirable, if the security of property be an object of care to the Constitution, that the legislator should have an interest rather in defending than undermining it. The reader is perhaps aware that the ninety-second article of the Constitution declares that, in order to qualify a candidate for a seat in Cortes, he must be possessed of a proportionate yearly income; but the ninety-third article suspends this wise provision until a future legislature shall determine the amount of the income, and the nature of the property from which it should arise. December.

There were those who felt little surprise that the measures of a body so constituted should have been looked upon with extreme jealousy by several of the courts of Europe. Had it confined itself within the jurisdiction of an assembly strictly deliberative, it would have been less liable to objection. But the Cortes went a great deal beyond this; they exercised at once the powers of the legislature and the executive; they revised the proceedings of inferior courts of justice, and indirectly influenced the disposal of every office in the state, civil and military. Nay, they even interfered with the regulations of the Universities, and ordered degrees to be conceded simply on the petition of the party. In short, every thing of importance was transacted through the medium of Cortes: they acted more as a sovereign senate than as the legislature of a representative monarchy.

It is a remarkable fact that perhaps in no capital of

* About five dollars a day.

December. Europe was freedom of opinion less tolerated at this time than in Madrid. Infamy was attached to that side which did not hold that the established Constitution was the best which Spain could adopt, and that it was so perfect as to need no alteration whatsoever. If one of independent mind ventured to think otherwise, and to express his sentiments freely in society, he was put down as a factious individual; his most intimate friend would either denounce him to the government, or abandon him as an enemy with whom he could hold no kind of correspondence. Hence society might be said to have existed no longer in Madrid. Conversation, in such a state of things, must generally turn on politics; if all were not of the same way of thinking, disputes and disagreeable altercations arose; and if they were all agreed, the conversation soon stagnated. In these circumstances many were afraid to speak at all, because they did not wish to break friendships, on one hand, or to expose themselves to the persecution of the authorities on the other. Perhaps, however, some degree of intolerance was natural, if not inevitable, where a new system was in a process of consolidation. Fiery zeal, impatience, and obstinacy are the usual characteristics of those who have suddenly espoused the cause of liberty, and meet with difficulties in maintaining it. The remark applies to revolutionary men in every age and country; but it is strange enough at the same time, that free governments should have their period of tyranny as well as those which are most enslaved.

In the early part of this session of Cortes, it was said that an intention was entertained of bringing the two princes, Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula, to trial for their conduct on the 7th of July. The meeting of the Congress at Verona evidently gave a decided check to the ministerial party, who were inclined to extreme measures, and very probably prevented this dangerous proceeding from taking

place. The permission given to Morillo and the Duke del Infantado to stay in Madrid on their paroles, and the decision of the Cortes, with respect to the dictamen of the commission on the affair of the Guards, were sufficient to indicate that the dominant party had very lately learned a lesson of moderation. December.

As to a war with France, notwithstanding all the preparations which had been already made on the frontiers, there were very few persons in Madrid who, at this time, believed it probable. The Spaniards are an extremely sanguine people. Whatever they wish should happen, that they believe will come to pass, and they go on from day to day under this delusion, until they are at last awakened to their error by the very presence of the evil whose approach they would not credit. The French would never dare to cross the Pyrenees. What! would they have the temerity once more to commit themselves with that "heroic Spanish people," which had already destroyed the flower of their veteran army? It was ridiculous to think of it! Thus they assured themselves, on the remembrance of their former successes; and I observed, that, in alluding to those events, the British army was never mentioned, or thought of, no more than if such a force had never been in the Peninsula.

CHAPTER VII.

THEATRES.—BULL-FIGHTS.

December. ALTHOUGH the theatrical amusements of Madrid are yet behind those of Paris and London, so far as good acting and changes of fine scenery are concerned, still they are not altogether unworthy of notice. The Opera, particularly, is at least as good as we had some years ago in London. It is conducted at the principal theatre (El Teatro del Principe) by an Italian company, which, though not numerous, possesses one or two engaging singers. The theatre is about the size of the Lyceum, in the Strand, and is well calculated for the equal distribution of sound. The boxes have a dull appearance, as they are all painted a dead French grey, without gilding or decoration of any sort, except that one or two have velvet cushions, fringed with gold, which belong to noblemen. The King's box, which is in the second circle opposite the stage, is, I am told, handsomely ornamented; but when his Majesty is not present (and it is very seldom lately that he attends the theatre), his box is covered over with a curtain of faded crimson tapestry, which only increases the dull aspect of the house. The boxes in the first circle are mostly private property, being rented by annual subscriptions; a considerable space in the first circle immediately under the Royal box is formed into a kind of tribune, which is allotted to females exclusively. On the other hand, the pit is reserved as exclusively for the men; and, indeed, nothing can be more desirable for an amateur of music than one of the seats in this part of the theatre. They are separated from each other by rails, which support the

arm, and each affords ample accommodation for one person. December.
They are all numbered, and the visitor occupies the number which he finds written on his card of admission. Thus, in the first place, the inconvenience of a crowd is avoided, for no tickets can be issued beyond the number which the seats amount to. In the next place, by a timely application in the morning, one may purchase whatever seat he pleases; and if, during the performance, he wishes to go out and return, his place is still reserved. The convenience of such an arrangement is so obvious, that the London managers would do well to adopt it.

The first opera which I attended was *La Gazza Ladra:* for Rossini is as much the rage here as he is in Paris and London. The principal female character, that of *Nineta*, was performed by Signora Adelaida Sala. She is of a short figure, an intelligent, though not a very handsome countenance, and possesses a charming voice. It is not of an extensive compass, being what is called a contr' alto; but there is a fluidity and a precision of intonation in her notes which must always please the hearer. Nor does she want that divine power of expression, the true magic of the human voice, which revealing, as it were, the internal recesses of the heart of the performer, exercises the same influence over that of the auditor, and binds them together for a moment in the invisible chains of sympathy. I never heard that beautiful prayer of *Nineta*, when she is about to be taken to the scaffold—*Del tu reggi in tal momento*, sung with so much true and touching pathos as by Sala. Without displaying the whole range of her musical knowledge, which the Italian artistes are usually fond of doing, wishing to make themselves appear rather as professors than as performers, Sala runs through every note and change of mode with such facility and in such perfect tone, that she shows herself to be at the same time a refined as well as a judicious mu-

December. sician. Her ear is delicately true, and she seldom deviates into luxuriant ornament from the current of the melody. Sala would be deemed a valuable acquisition at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket; but as she has been recently married, with Ferdinand's consent, to a Spanish Count, there is no probability that she will try her fate on English boards. The part of *Pippo*, in which Madame Vestris is so great a favourite, was sustained by Signora Josefa Spontoni, a young lady, who, by the mere management of an innate grace, contrives to render an ordinary face and an irregular figure actually agreeable. Her fine eyes, indeed, assist her considerably in creating this delusion. Her voice is pretty, but limited. The tenor *Gianneto* was Luis Mari, one of the musicians of the Royal Chapel. Two or three of his middle notes are remarkably powerful and harmonious; but though he governs his tones generally with a vigilant judgment, he sometimes slides into a weak and tremulous falsetto, which spoils the effect he might otherwise have produced. The orchestra is numerous, and composed of excellent instrumentalists. The first and second violins are not less remarkable for their tact of execution, than for the taste with which they accompanied the sweet airs of this enchanting opera.

It is but doing justice to the Madrilenian audience to add, that they attended to the whole of the performance in a manner which proved the prevalence of a general taste for music. They did not, indeed, wave either their hats or handkerchiefs, nor did they clamour for the favourite singer after the curtain fell. Their attention was silent and fervent; their applause judicious, and their disapprobation decidedly, though rarely, bestowed on the unfortunate Basso. The house was full; but, though the company was certainly of the most respectable order, it did not appear brilliant, because, as is usual in the continental theatres,

every body came dressed as he chose. The ladies mostly wore bonnets, the gentlemen were wrapt in their cloaks. Six small lustres for candles give a dim light to the body of the house, though beneath every box sconces of three branches are affixed, which are lighted on state occasions. Three nights in the week are allotted to operas, the other four to comedies, at this theatre. Those which are dedicated to operas are considered the most fashionable. December.

The only new opera which was produced during the season was *La Fiesta de la Rosa*—The feast of the Rose. The story is founded on a custom established at Salency, a village in the Isle of France, by Medardo, one of the Bishops of Noyon. Salency was his native place, and when he was raised to the mitre, he granted a fund, from which twenty-five pounds was to be paid to the most virtuous girl of the village. The decision was to be by election, and to be renewed every year. The prize this time is unanimously awarded to Carlota Valci, a young maid of amiable qualities, and beloved by Carlos, the adopted son of De Salency, Lord of the Manor. Carlos had gained her heart under the disguise of a peasant, and the fictitious name of Julio. The distinction just conferred upon her added fresh fervour to his attachment, and he had gained her consent to their marriage, when some doubts occurred to the magistrate of the village, as to the validity of the election. This person had sinister designs upon Carlota, and he refused to give her the prize, saying that she encouraged secret amours, which sullied her character. At this stage of the affair there happened to pass through Salency a Prussian Baron, named De Wibrac, an oddity of a genius, advanced in years, crippled with the gout, but still the gallant champion and slave of the women. He hears the story of Carlota, and interests himself so much about her, that he wishes to marry her himself. He represents her case to De Salency, who orders the tardy

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December. magistrate to give her the prize; but when he finds that she is the betrothed of his adopted son, he rescinds his decision. At length, after a sufficiency of crosses, and hopes, and inquietudes, it is discovered that Carlos is the son of De Wibrac, who had deserted from the Prussian army some years before, and all parties are made happy at the conclusion. The music is by Carlos Coccia, a Spanish master of some eminence, and too advanced in years, I should imagine, to be, as it is charged to him, a mere imitator of Rossini. The truth is, that the Italians, who give the mode in music, are so wrapt up in their admiration of Rossini, that they imagine nobody can compose a song without drinking from that great source of harmony. It is true that there are several passages in *La Fiesta de la Rosa* which remind one of Rossini's peculiarities, but they are too bold, and in more than one instance, I may add, too beautiful, to be deemed the production of a servile invention. The first act is rather tame, but the second is studded with brilliant pieces, some pursuing an even tranquil current of melody, some gay in the extreme, others as like as possible to what I have seen somewhere called a "conversational *row*," full of comic spirit and character. Sala, or rather the Countess de la Fuentes, for that is her matrimonial name, sustained the character of Carlota. The music, which was written expressly for her voice, is conversant chiefly with the middle tones, in which her organ displays itself with great facility and eloquence. There never was a singer more free from affectation, more at ease, and at the same time more diligent in the precision and execution of her part, than this lady. Her voice is so imbued with kind and pathetic sentiment, that an imaginative mind is disposed to believe she must have acquired it in some delicious sylvan solitude, where the soft echoes of waters falling among the mountains taught her to modulate its natural sweetness. The Baron de

Wibrac by Rosich was one of the best specimens of buffa acting I have seen on the Italian stage. The struggles between the old man's debility, and his impetuous enthusiasm in favour of Carlota, the perpetual contrast between his gout and his gallantry, were marked with masterly skill and force. December.

There is no ballet at this theatre, nor at any other in Madrid. The cessation of this amusement forms a page in the scandalous chronicle of this capital. It appears, that some months since there was a corps de ballet at the Teatro del Principe, and that the ballet master was a person of rather an engaging appearance. The principal singer at the time had a very pretty wife, to whom her husband thought that gentleman was too attentive. She formed one of the corps de ballet; and so painful to her spouse was the thought of her being about to dance with his rival, after he should have finished singing, that sometimes he could not sing at all. The audience were not unfrequently surprised by losing half of a beautiful division of a song, which remained quite unutterable, as if frozen in the way; and once or twice, the poor jealous harmonist ran off the stage into the green-room, to look after his faithless consort. Things at last came to an issue; either there was to be no opera or no ballet, for both, it was clear, could not go on together. The former was fortunately preferred.

The second theatre (El Teatro de la Cruz) is large, and well calculated both for hearing and seeing the business of the stage. It is, however, as yet in a state of preparation for future decoration. The boxes are painted a dark grey, without any gilding or ornament whatever, with the exception of those appropriated to the use of the Royal Family, which are fitted up with purple velvet cushions and silk curtains. There is no ceremony required as to dress, which is proper enough, seeing that you may chance to have with

December. you in the same box two or three matrons, with their infants at the breast.

A great number of new comic pieces was produced during the season, which being entirely founded on patriotic subjects, pleased the multitude for a few nights, and then passed away for ever to the shades of oblivion. The most tolerable of these was a comedy in three acts, called *El trapense en los campos de Ayerve.*—"The Trappist in the fields of Ayerve." The scene opens with the camp of the Trappist's army, which consists of eight or ten soldiers, each clothed in a different uniform. One of these fellows, who is a humorist, makes a few dry remarks on the chances which he had of obtaining any pay, for though he wore the ensign of the Faith on his arm, he was free to confess that he loved the substantial rewards of this world. This observation he followed up with others, which were received with continued bursts of laughter by the audience, but they were really of so profane a tendency, that I would not venture even to allude to them. These jests at the expense of religion being over, a flourish of one drum and a rusty trumpet introduced the Trappist and his motley staff. He appeared in his hood and cassock, over which were belted a sword and poniard —strange accompaniments for the humble garb which he wore. The demeanour and language of this represented Monk were still more shocking to English habits than the ribaldrous jests of his corporal. After extolling the motives of his opposition to the Constitutionalists, as founded in the religion of the cross, he preached a sermon, in which he proved to the satisfaction of his troops that the patriots and Communeros, by whatever names they were called, were nothing more or less than fiends and evil spirits let loose from the other world. He then blessed his troops, and absolved them from all sins, past and future, assuring them of the highest seats in heaven. Among his staff was a tall,

thin, mortified fellow in the garb of a priest, who, though December.
he wore a sword, trembled at the slightest allusion of a warlike character. He caused a good deal of mirth. The band proceeded to levy contributions on a neighbouring villlage, and where the smooth, hypocritical discourses of the Trappist did not prevail, he called in to his aid his bayonets. An elderly gentleman, who refuses to pay a single dollar towards such a cause, is taken prisoner, and torn from his only daughter, whom in the mean time one of the Trappist's officers endeavours to seduce. At length the Patriot troops come to Ayerve. They employ themselves in songs and harangues in favour of the Constitution, until they meet the Trappist, and after an action, they expel him and his wretched army from the neighbourhood, and the comedy concludes with songs and dances performed by a group of villagers. The enthusiasm with which every thing like praise of the Constitution, or a declaration of attachment to it in preference of life, was received by the audience, was remarkably animated. It was by no means uninteresting to observe a people, so long enslaved, triumphing at every opportunity in the enjoyment of their new-born liberties. The music in the intervals between the acts was of course all patriotic. The audience frequently joined in chorus, shouting Vivas and singing verses of Riego's hymn.

The theatres, however, do not excite the public attention here so much as they do in Paris and London. In Madrid, as in the other principal towns of Spain, the amusement to which the people are most fervently attached is that of the bull-fights. In summer these exhibitions are carried to their highest degree of excellence; in winter they are limited to six or seven bulls of inferior breed; which, however, sometimes afford what is considered good entertainment. They are presented every Sunday (except during

December. the Lent), the weather permitting, in a large amphitheatre, specially constructed for these exhibitions.

The amphitheatre of Madrid is a short distance beyond the walls, about one hundred yards from the gate of Alcala. It is capable of accommodating from six to eight thousand spectators. Let the reader imagine, in the first place, an extensive circular arena, which is bounded by a high and strong wooden partition that runs all round, and has in it four gates at the four points of the compass. One of these gates is used for the entry of the director of the games and the performers engaged in them; another for the entry of the bulls; the third for the egress of those bulls which are not killed; and the last affords a passage to the horses which drag out the bulls, that are slain. The lower gallery for spectators is at a distance of five or six feet from the wooden boundary of the arena; this unoccupied space runs all round, in order that if the bulls overleap the boundary, as they sometimes do, they might be prevented from injuring the spectators, and be driven back to the arena, the nearest gate being opened. The lower gallery, as well as the arena, is exposed to the open air. The second gallery, which is above the first, is protected from the sun and rain by a tier of boxes, and the latter are roofed with tiles. Fifty reals are paid for the use of a whole box, four for a seat in the second gallery, and two for a place in the lower one.

My prejudices against bull-fights were strong, but happening one Sunday to see crowds of men, women, and children hastening to the amphitheatre, I could not avoid following in their train. Shortly after three o'clock, crowds began to pour in rapidly. The women and young girls were all in their hair, but covered, the better sort with black lace veils, and those of the less affluent classes with a black silk veil bordered with lace. The greater number of them had also their fans, which the Spanish women use not

only to cool their faces in warm weather, but to guard their December.
eyes from the sun, as their head-dress is ill calculated for this purpose. It was not uninteresting to a stranger to hear the members of different parties recognizing each other by such names as Barbara, Maragita, Herminia, Olimpia, Nicanora, Nicolassa, Fernandina, Innocentio, Patricio, Francisco, Pedro, and others of similar terminations.

The director, dressed in the ancient Spanish style, with a short black mantle, a hat turned up at the sides, and on the left side a plume of red and white feathers, rode into the arena upon a handsome charger. After receiving the keys of the den from the Alcalde, who presided, and who sat in a box on the right of the king's box, he gave directions for the entertainment to commence. Two horses immediately appeared in the arena, each laden with two clownish riders, who were seated on a pad back to back. The hindermost rider kept his place by holding in his hand a cord attached to the pad. In his right hand he bore a long wooden staff, pointed with iron. A bull was then let into the arena the tips of whose horns were made harmless by being covered with lead. As soon as he saw the horses, he proceeded directly against one of them, and the combatants, who were apparently new to the office, offering no effectual resistance with their spears, he easily overthrew both horse and riders. He then attacked the other, and this contest was continued for some time with alternate success, the bull, however, being most frequently the conqueror, to the great amusement of the spectators.

Upon a flourish of trumpets being given, this bull retired, and two fresh horsemen, on separate horses, entered. They were handsomely dressed, in white and red silk jackets, decorated with gold lace; their hats were white, with a wide leaf, and a low round crown. These also carried each a long wooden staff or spear, with an iron spike in the end of

December. it. A bull was then admitted, whose horns were in their natural condition. Nothing can be finer than the entry of a fierce proud bull into the arena. He rushes in; astonished by the crowd of spectators, he stops a while, looks around him, but when his eye lights on the horsemen in the arena, he paws the ground with the majesty of a lion, and summons up all his fury for the contest. This engagement being attended with danger, both to the horse and rider, it excited strong interest. One of the combatants, or as they are called in Spanish, picadores (pikemen), was thrown to the ground, but happening to be near the boundary of the arena, some of the spectators came to his assistance, and delivered him from the rage of the ferocious animal. The attention of the bull was, in the meantime, diverted by the banderilleros. These are pedestrian performers, who carry in one hand a flag (banderilla) of yellow or red silk, with which they approach the bull. As soon as he sees the gaudy colour, he rushes towards it, and the flag-bearer runs with all his speed to escape over the boundary, trailing the flag behind him. If he be in danger of being overtaken, he lets the flag fall on the ground: the bull immediately stops and vents all his rage upon it, as if under the impression that it conceals his adversary, while the fugitive has time to get away in safety.

The bull being now pretty well fatigued, the banderilleros, who were also handsomely though very lightly dressed, armed themselves with two strong steel darts each. They were short, fitted for the hand, and decorated with pieces of cut paper, so as to disguise them. It was the object of each performer to run towards the bull with agility, and just as the animal was in the act of stooping the head to toss him, to fix the two darts in the back of the neck. As soon as the bull felt the points of the weapons, he lifted his head again from pain, without attempting to touch his adversary,

who thus had time to escape. The animal immediately endeavoured by tossing his head to get rid of the darts; but this he was not often able to accomplish, as they were strongly bearded, and sometimes he was seen raging round the arena, his neck bristled with these torturing instruments. At length, when he was almost exhausted, a matador (slayer) approached him, holding in his left hand a large red flag, with which he engaged the bull's attention for a while, until, finding him in a convenient position, he thrust beneath the shoulders and up to the very hilt a long sword, which he held in his right hand, and which he had hitherto concealed from the eye of the animal as much as possible. The bull now fell, but was not yet quite dead, when an attendant came with a short knife, which he infixed at the junction of the spine with the head, and instantly put an end to his agonies. He was then dragged across the arena by three horses, and carried away. Two bulls were killed in this manner. The second was an immensely strong one; he leaped after the banderilleros twice over the boundary, but from the arrangement already mentioned, he was driven back into the arena without doing any mischief. December.

A third bull was killed in the following barbarous way. A green fir-tree was planted in the arena, immediately opposite the gate at which the bulls enter. Before this tree, a man covered with a kind of armour of stiff canvas, and having a false head of a monster with the mouth open superadded to his own stature, knelt on one knee. A thick wooden pole, pointed with a strong steel blade, was given to him, and fixing the lower end of it in the ground, he sloped the point so as to meet the bull on entering at the gate. The pole being so fixed, the gate was opened, and a wild bull immediately rushed in with such amazing force, that the spear penetrated completely through the ribs, and came out

December. near the back. Still the animal was not mortally wounded. He attacked his adversary furiously, who pretending to be dead, permitted himself to be rolled about. The bull seeing the thing before him apparently shapeless and void of life, soon left it, and ran maddened over the arena, the spear still remaining in his side. It was a shocking spectacle; but still so strong was the animal, that the matador could not get near enough, without manifest danger, to kill him. At length, by means of a curved knife, which was fixed on a long pole, one of the assistants cut the ham-strings. Even after this the victim made efforts to move; but at last he fell, and his agonies were terminated in the usual manner.

Here ended what might be called the second part. The third part was of a more innocent, and also of a more useful character. Five or six bulls, whose horns were leaded, were admitted successively into the arena, and the younger classes of the male spectators crowded to emulate each other in worrying the animals. By holding their cloaks before them, or one of those gay silk or worsted scarfs which most of the Spaniards wear under the vest round the waist, they induced the bull to run after them. If he were too quick upon them, they threw down the cloak or scarf, and ran away. Frequently it happened that they could not run fast enough, and the bull laid them prostrate; but his attention being immediately drawn off by another adversary, no harm ensued. One lad, however, in endeavouring to escape, fell down, and no person happening to be near, a bull was instantly upon him, and raised him aloft on one of his horns as if he were a fly. The lad, with great presence of mind, finding himself thus unexpectedly riding on the horn, caught hold of the end of it, and was thus carried about the arena. Fortunately for him he was soon tossed off again, without any other injury than a rent in his trowsers. In

this part of the entertainment it is that the national utility of December.
these exhibitions consists; for it serves to accustom youth to danger, to render them active and dexterous, and in some measure to prepare them by these mimic combats for contests of a more important description. The whole concluded with a display of fire-works, which was upon a limited scale. There were about five or six thousand persons present.

CHAPTER VIII.

MADRID.—PUBLIC WALKS.—BUILDINGS.—SOCIETY.—THE ROYAL FAMILY.—CHRISTMAS DAY.

December. MADRID, as it stands at present, is as nearly as possible in the form of a square. It is enclosed on every side, either by walls or houses, and it has fifteen gates; some of which are constructed with so much architectural beauty, that they are conspicuous ornaments of the metropolis. The gate of Alcala * is particularly magnificent. It was built to commemorate the arrival of Charles III., and partakes therefore of a triumphal character. The order of the structure is Ionic, and it derives no small part of its noble effect from the situation in which it is placed. When the French attacked Madrid in 1808, their artillery exercised much ingenuity in endeavouring to deface the ornaments and columns of this gate. They fired through it repeatedly, and the marks of balls are still to be seen on the outside part of the structure, where they succeeded in breaking some of the capitals, and mutilating the statuary.

The stranger who catches a first view of Madrid upon entering by the gate of Alcala, is apt to form high expectations of its extent and magnificence. He sees before him the long wide street of Alcala, formed on both sides by a line of princely houses, and having a slight but graceful bend, which gives it rather the appearance of a vista in painting than of mere reality. Upon advancing a little he finds himself in full view of the Prado, or public walk, which extends

* So called, as it leads from Madrid to the town of Alcala.

to a considerable distance on his right, but on his left-hand reaches to a boundary which his eye cannot perceive. This latter part of the Prado it is which is most frequented. The central walk, which is very wide, is called the Salon. At each side of the Salon there are several narrow walks, which being thickly shaded by lofty elm-trees, give the Prado the appearance of a noble avenue to some royal palace. The space between the extremity of the Salon and the gate of Atocha, which is very nearly a mile, is also abundantly planted with elms laid out in walks, and, as well as the Salon, and the other parts of the Prado, decorated with fountains, which are embellished in an excellent style of workmanship. December.

Adjoining the Prado are public gardens, called Las Delicias. The latter may be understood as equivalent to Kensington Gardens, and the former to Hyde Park, though there is not the most remote similarity between them as to the extent or disposition of the grounds. Las Delicias are chiefly frequented in summer, because their walks are more umbrageous than those of the Prado, and they are cooled by a large basin of limpid water, round which are fountains that ever yield a pure and salubrious spring—the greatest luxury of a warm climate. Near these are the botanical gardens, which are also open to the public in summer.

Immediately beyond the basin of Las Delicias are to be seen some of the remains of the royal palace of El Retiro, once so famous for the extent and beauty of its gardens, its woodland shades, its fish-ponds, fountains, theatre, and other various curiosities. It was a palace of recreation, but was turned into a fortress by the French, who levelled all the trees around it, and made a desert of this once beautiful situation. Upon Ferdinand's return, he ordered this palace to be repaired; but little progress was made by the time the revolution broke out, and prevented him from pursuing his

December. wishes. No injury was done to good taste by the occurrence of this impediment, as the style in which the new buildings were commenced is Chinese. One or two of them are finished, and, so far as they go, resemble parts of the palace at Brighton. By some good fortune an equestrian statue of Philip IV. was preserved from the rage of the modern Vandals. It still remains in the grounds of El Retiro, and deserves never to perish.

On the fine Sunday afternoons of winter, between two and five o'clock, the Prado is generally very fully attended. The company, as may be supposed, presents a very different aspect from that of Hyde Park. The ladies are all, with perhaps no more than a dozen exceptions, dressed in black silk gowns, and shawls of various colours, but mostly violet. They appear in their hair, having no other covering on the head than the very slight one of a black or white lace veil, which is gracefully attached to the hair-knot on the top, so as to show a gold or tortoise-shell comb, and falls freely over the shoulders. Sometimes it is let down over the face; but generally it is folded back over the forehead, and drawn together under the chin by the hand, thus advantageously shading the countenance. This dress is so becoming, that in contemplating it one scarcely feels the want of variety. Every woman looks well in it, and where there are a figure and countenance really handsome, they shine with double lustre in this national costume. The handsomest women in Madrid are mostly from the provinces. The genuine Madrilenians are less remarkable for their beauty than perhaps those of any other province of Spain. They present striking contrasts to the slight but voluptuous form, the glowing cheeks, and large, hazel, soul-speaking eyes of the south. The libellers of Spain, i. e. the travellers, English, French, and German, all conspire to defame the virtue of the Spanish ladies; and, indeed, I have often heard it roundly asserted

here, that the general heat of the climate, the want of proper education, and the relaxation of morals, have placed virtuous female characters rather amongst the exceptions in this country. Far be it from me to offer any opinion where the delicate honour of woman is concerned. December.

The men appear almost universally enveloped in large cloaks, which give them a gravity of aspect perfectly in keeping with the serious pensive turn of their minds. The hats of the gentlemen are like those worn in England. When speaking to each other, their gesture is more varied, and even more passionate, than that of the French. They speak with great distinctness of articulation, and, at the same time, with amazing fluency. They seldom have recourse to the beauties of nature, or of poetry, to illustrate their meaning. No pointed turn of phrase, or happy allusion, which form the fascination of the elegant minds of England and France. They go directly to the business in hand, and talk it in a logical and emphatic manner, which now and then yields to a train of deep and philosophic thought.

For the two or three last Sundays of this month, the Prado was quite deserted; its walks and leafless trees having been mantled in snow,—rather an unusual circumstance in Madrid, at least for the length of time which the snow remained on the ground. At no time was it deep, as the heat of the sun, which almost uniformly comes out in this climate with intense strength at noon, kept it down. The range of the Guadarama, which, like minor Pyrenees, defend Madrid on the east, were, however, thickly covered with snow. When the whole country around the capital was appareled in this fugitive raiment of winter; the hills, the valleys, and corn-fields, the trees and cottages, all whitened with its influence, and the Guadarama frowning down upon them like the genius of the season, presented a snow scene of considerable beauty.

December. The mornings and evenings of the winters in Madrid are usually very cold. In England a cold winter is considered salubrious: here it is the contrary; for Madrid is seated so high over the level of the sea, that its atmosphere is very thin; and a cold northern wind, which seems scarcely strong enough to extinguish a lamp, pierces to the heart, and not unfrequently freezes the very sources of life. Pulmonary complaints, brought on by this excessive cold, are common; and so rapid is their progress, that the sufferer is carried to his grave in three or four days. Sometimes these imperceptible blasts act on the limbs exposed to them like a palsy, and they are the more dangerous, as they chiefly haunt the atmosphere immediately after a brilliant and warm sun has left it. Hence it is, that in this season the Spaniards are seen usually muffled up to the eyes in their cloaks. By covering the lower part of the countenance they breathe a warm air, a precaution that is almost indispensable to their safety. Their lungs are generally bad; and this must be the case so long as they continue their deplorable custom of smoking cigars. The cigars most commonly used are nothing more than eight or ten grains of coarse tobacco wrapped up in a small square of white paper. It is not tobacco, in fact, which they chiefly smoke, but paper, which every body knows is impregnated with an oil that is more or less poisonous. The oil of yellow letter-paper is a rapid and rancorous poison, and though many Spaniards know this, they continue the habit.

The street of Alcala, superb in every other respect, is inconvenient for pedestrians, on account of the narrowness of the footway, and the roughness of the pavement. In snowy or rainy weather this inconvenience is much increased, as the footway is placed exactly under the pipes which convey the water from the roofs of the houses. These pipes project a little from the parapets, and the collected

rain falls from their heights on the footway below; the December.
simple addition of a perpendicular conduit either not having been thought of, or having been deemed too expensive. A want of cleanliness is also as observable in the streets of Madrid as in those of Paris. The ante-hall of the principal houses is generally left exposed to every sort of passenger. Sometimes a poor old woman establishes in it her little stall for bread and fruit, and asses' milk; but this is no safeguard against its violation. Indeed, the proprietors invite every sort of disagreeable odour, as immediately within the large front door, or rather gate, accommodations are constructed which attract the passenger from the street.

Beyond the front door, which is generally open, there is an interior one, which is as generally closely shut. If a visitor desires to go in, he pulls a rope, which hangs near the door, and rings a bell. A servant appears at a small, square, grated aperture in the door, and demands his business; after which he is admitted to the interior of the house. In the highest order of houses a porter generally attends in the ante-hall; but in these cases the stairs ascend directly from the ante-hall, and, after the usual inquiries, the visitor goes up. In Madrid the higher classes chiefly live up stairs. The ground-floor apartments are all assigned to the use of the servants and kitchen, or are stored with lumber.

After leaving the street of Alcala, which is the only magnificent street in Madrid, the stranger enters a kind of a square, which is called *Puerta del Sol*—the Gate of the Sun. In former times it was one of the gates of entrance to the capital; but, in consequence of the erection of the street of Alcala, and other additions on that side, the Gate of the Sun is now almost in the middle of Madrid, and is, in fact, for that reason, used as the exchange. In the mornings and evenings this place is crowded with persons, who, however, attend less for commercial purposes than to talk about the

December. news, and to lounge away an hour or two. The street of La Montera, which opens from the Puerta del Sol, is also much frequented by loungers. There are in it several gay and handsome shops, but they are not remarkable for richness. The trade of Madrid is limited to its own population (about 142,000), and is therefore inconsiderable for the metropolis of such a country as Spain. A little business is done in the morning; less in the evening. From one to half-past three in the afternoon the shops are all shut, as then the proprietors and their families are at dinner.

There are several other good streets in Madrid; but it is not within the design of this work to enter into any description of them. Generally speaking, they are lofty and narrow; and, from the want of business and bustle, they have a gloomy appearance. Indeed, Madrid, though built in a stately style, has been properly called the dullest capital in Europe. Every family lives very much within itself, hospitality being a virtue more frequently spoken of than seen in practice. Dinner parties are very rare indeed. The society of Madrid is chiefly seen in those evening assemblies which they term *Tertulias*.

A tertulia means nothing more than a meeting of persons, and in the Spanish houses there is no remarkable deviation from its literal signification. A few distinguished families have their Tertulias on certain nights of the week, to which any person who has been once invited is entitled, and indeed expected to go, on every successive similar occasion. The elders of the assembly club round the card-tables, the younger folk dance; while those who cannot pass for young, and do not wish to be deemed old, stand by and look on. There is no necessity for a particular introduction to the lady with whom a gentleman wishes to dance. If he observe her disengaged, he has only to walk up and make his obeisance to her, and if she chooses to dance she will rise; if not, she

remains stationary, and the gentleman has only to look out for another. This, however, is an alternative which is seldom necessary, as the young ladies of Madrid are passionately fond of dancing. They generally dance too with infinite spirit, and not a few with peculiar gracefulness. They have completely set their hearts against the invasion of that English listlessness which is so common in the quadrilles amongst our higher circles. Dancing well, they wish to show it; and being of an ardent temperament, whatever they do seems to be done with a cordiality of manner which is always engaging. December.

To these tertulias, however, the English were but partially invited; for whatever travellers may have said, or may say to the contrary, it is an indisputable truth, that the Spaniards are not fond of associating with the English. The French and Italians are cordially received every where; but the English are treated with respectful coldness. I do not mean to insinuate through this observation any reproach against the higher classes of Madrid. Their demeanour towards us seems to me to arise in a great measure from the marked dissimilarity between English and Continental manners. We have not the arts of trifling conversation which foreign women delight in; we cannot sit *tête-à-tête* for hours with a lady talking to her of nothing but her fine eyes and graceful shapes; we are lazy dancers; and, *as yet,* not very general gamblers. There is also an idea prevailing in Madrid, as elsewhere, that the English are accustomed at home to splendid furniture and costly living; and the interests of vanity demand that such opulent foreigners shall not have many opportunities of entering into comparisons. The respectable English, however, resident in Madrid, had always a resource in their own cordial intercourse, and in the hospitable board of the British minister, Sir William A'Court. Lady A'Court gave also a

December. series of tertulias before the Carnival, which were held every Monday night. At these assemblies the English of course regularly attended, and had opportunities of meeting the principal noble families in Madrid, the foreign ministers, the leading Deputies of Cortes, and, in short, every person of distinction in the capital. Dancing always took the lead of cards and conversation, and was kept up from ten o'clock till two or three in the morning. It commenced generally with English country-dances, to which succeeded quadrilles and waltzes, and they pursued each other with such unwearied animation, that the orchestra had quite enough to do to keep pace with them. In the intervals, refreshments in the greatest abundance and variety were handed about; and what with the polite attentions of Sir William and Lady A'Court to their guests, the beauty and vivacity of several of the young ladies, the jewelled head-dresses of the noble matrons around, the decorations of the military men, and the brilliancy of the apartments, it formed altogether a very delightful scene.

Now and then a regular ball is given, for which special cards are issued. There are few musical parties, as in London, though some concerts have been recently given. They are not, however, upon an extensive scale, as, with the exception of Sala and a Miss Naldi, there are no good orchestra singers in Madrid.

There were at one time no fewer than one hundred and forty-six churches and chapels in Madrid, thirty-three convents for men, and twenty-nine for females, the principal of which have been described by other writers. It remains for me only to observe, that such have been the changes wrought in these buildings and establishments by the all-plundering hands of the French, and the reforming laws of the Cortes, that there are very few of them at present worth visiting.

The royal palace also bears traces of the French invasion,

and its interior economy has been a frequent object of jealous attention during the progress of the Spanish revolution. It appeared to me a much handsomer building than the Tuileries. One always looks upon it with renewed pleasure; for it leaves upon the mind that impression of gracefulness combined with strength, which are the essential attributes of beauty. It was originally planned, and the principal part constructed, in the reign of Philip V. by Saqueti, the pupil of the celebrated architect Jubarra. According to the eastern fashion, which has long prevailed in Spain, the palace is built on the four sides of a square, which it encloses, each side being four hundred and seventy feet in length. It is entirely of stone work; the gates and doors are of mahogany. The architecture is quite modern, the walls lofty, the roof, which is flat, of lead, and crowned with a beautiful balustrade, which, before the time of Charles III., was decorated with several statues of the kings of Spain, from Ataulfo to Ferdinand VI. These statues were removed to the immense vaults of the palace by order of Charles, who would have still farther strengthened his character for good taste, if he had not commenced two additional wings to the building. They spoil the harmony of the edifice, and being in an unfinished state, and likely long to remain so, they disfigure the general appearance of a palace which otherwise would deserve to be called the handsomest in Europe. December.

It is well known, that since the events of the 7th of July, Ferdinand VII. was as much a prisoner in this palace as ever Napoleon was in his mansion at St. Helena. The Cortes were perhaps justifiable, to a certain extent, in prescribing the movements of the king, because the sincerity of his attachment to the Constitution was properly suspected, and some obscure designs seemed to be on foot for getting him beyond the Pyrenees. It was impossible for any prince, who regarded the dignity and just rights of his throne, to

December. subscribe, with a willing hand, the Constitution of Cadiz; for it reduced his prerogatives and faculties to mere shadows. The Cortes, by demanding too much, and succeeding in their demands to the very letter, placed themselves in a false position, which they were obliged to keep, in order to preserve any of the advantages they had gained. The king, on the other hand, by conceding too much, reduced himself to a situation that rendered him naturally an object of hourly suspicion at home, and of manifold intrigues abroad.

There were accordingly household guards and officers appointed, in whom the new government confided. These guards, armed with small carabines, were stationed in different rooms of the palace, and the stairs were night and day lined with battle-axe men. Formerly strangers had little difficulty in entering the palace, and viewing the magnificent collections of pictures and superb furniture which it contains; but at this time no one was permitted to enter who was not known to be connected with the household or the guards, and the faces of all those who came out were strictly examined before they were allowed to pass. On Court days, indeed, the prohibition of entrance was necessarily dispensed with, but very few attended these ceremonies except the Liberals. The friends of the King staid away for several reasons; for those to whom his Majesty paid any particular mark of attention were put down as Serviles, and exposed to the danger of denunciation.

One day I happened to be in the square before the palace, when I observed a number of state carriages going towards the principal entrance. I was told that the King and the whole of the Royal Family were just about to take their usual promenade, and I had the curiosity to see how they appeared. The principal entrance is a gateway, which, during the daytime, is a common thoroughfare, as it leads to the interior square of the palace, in which all the offices of state are

situated. On the right hand is the grand staircase: it was December.
lined with battle-axe guards; a party of the carabineers before noticed, and four or five grenadiers, occupied the lower steps, and stood on each side of the King's carriage, which was in waiting. The infantry guards were drawn up in the square before the palace, and a body of horse guards, to the number of five or six and twenty, was waiting also in the square to escort (*i. e.* to guard) the royal carriages. In the passage there were two or three military men in undress, and seven or eight old women, who were waiting to present memorials to the king; though they could scarcely have been ignorant that the time for asking favours from the King of Spain was passed. After waiting some time, the King and Queen descended the staircase, attended by several officers of state, in full dress: dark blue coats, turned up with crimson, laced with gold, in the usual military fashion, white smallclothes, and white silk stockings. Such was also the dress of the King, in addition to which he wore a blue riband over his left shoulder, and a star on his breast. The Queen, a slight, genteel figure, with a small round countenance, feminine and timid, and not more, I should think, than eighteen or nineteen years old, appeared in a pink satin hat, very plain, and a blue silk mantle, edged with ermine, which covered the remainder of her dress. Her face has a mild beauty in it, which strongly interests a spectator. It looked on this occasion pale, and oppressed with inward suffering. The face of the King is remarkable for the vacancy—I fear I must say, the deformity of its expression. The chin and lower lip protrude considerably beyond the line of the upper features, and seem scarcely to belong to them. The upper lip is enveloped in mustachios; and yet, with these features almost of the dumb animal tribe, there is a mixture of intelligence, loftiness, and feebleness in his eye, which indicates a very peculiar character. Two of the officers of

December. state placed themselves at each side of the carriage door, offering their shoulders to the assistance of her Majesty, while getting in. I observed that she merely took the hand of the King, and got in, not without some effort, without availing herself of the assistance proffered by the officers of state. She smiled, not; she scarcely looked around her, and addressed not a syllable to any body. The King, who is a good portly figure, before he followed the Queen, looked around like a man who wished to give an impression that he was a free agent, but who betrayed his real state of duress by a certain awkwardness which he could not control. He was as reserved and silent as the Queen. There is only one step, which is firmly fixed outside, beneath the door of the carriage, and this is so high that both their Majesties were obliged to ascend to it by means of a footstool. The footstool was then strapped behind, where it hung dangling as the carriage drove off. Before he left the palace, his Majesty put out his hand from the window, and received the several petitions which were presented to him. I was rather surprised that this custom was permitted to remain, as it might easily have been made the vehicle of private communications to the King, which the whole system of the household was framed to intercept. Don Carlos, the King's eldest brother—and very like him, with the exception that his figure is short—his wife and family, followed in the second coach, equally reserved. Don Francisco and his consort followed in the third. He has a good face, but a short figure. In getting in he gave one or two of the officers a nod of recognition, and forced a smile into his countenance, which seemed to be very little valued by those for whom it was meant. Don Francisco was popular before the 7th of July; but since that time his star has grown pale. The three carriages rolled away without a cheer, or an expression of any sort from the persons present. They were immediately joined

by three other state carriages, filled with the officers of the household, and the whole cavalcade was attended by the escort already noticed. The infantry received it in a respectful manner, the band playing, and the standard lowered as it passed. Thus the King and the Royal Family took their rides every afternoon—the weather permitting—thus attended—thus guarded. If they had amongst them a spark of sentiment, they must have envied the humblest cottager whom they met on their road, for he was free to breathe the mountain air, and to turn the head of his mule to whatever point of the compass he pleased. December.

On Christmas-day I obtained permission to attend the high mass, which was to have been celebrated by the Pope's Nuncio before the Royal Family, according to ancient custom. The attendance of the Nuncio was, however, dispensed with on this occasion, in consequence of the refusal of the Pope to receive Senor Villaneuva, who had been nominated envoy from the court of Spain to his Holiness. A latent war had been going on for some time between the Cortes and the See of Rome. The Cortes had abridged, in many important points, the jurisdiction which the Pope exercised, or assumed, over the Spanish church; and it was supposed that they would persevere in these reforms until they should reduce its connexion with the Papal See to the same point at which the recent concordats have left the church of France. These innovations the Roman council opposed, and in consequence it refused to receive the envoy who supported them.

The royal chapel is in the palace, and is constructed in the form of a Maltese cross, except that one side (at the end of which are the choir and the tribunes for the Royal Family) is somewhat longer than the other three sides. In the middle is a handsome dome, painted with a view of Heaven, which is admirably executed, except that the JEHOVAH is embodied in the form of a sage. What corporal representation of that

December. MIGHTY BEING can be looked upon, when one thinks for a moment of his immensity? There is a great profusion of gilding; but the decorations are in good taste, and well finished. At eleven o'clock a Bishop entered, and was vested by the attendant Priests, who were thirteen in number. His vestments were of a most costly description. Soon after the Queen appeared in her tribune, which is opposite the great altar. She looked pale and sickly, though she frequently stood when the ceremony did not require it. A convulsive start now and then proved that she had not yet recovered from her late indisposition. She was dressed in an olive silk high gown, with wristbands of gold. She wore a small cambric ruff round her neck. Her hair was dressed quite plain, and she was wrapped in a large Cashmere shawl. She appeared anxious to avoid all appearance of state, and assumed, as much as possible, the demeanour of a young lady who possessed no sort of distinction. A stranger would have never deemed her the Queen unless she had been expressly pointed out to him. It is proper to add, that her whole attention appeared to be fixed on the altar. There was no affectation in her devotion—it was mild, simple, and sincere. The king was confined to his bed with the gout. Don Carlos and Don Francisco, and their respective consorts, attended in their tribunes. The music, which was poured from a fine organ and a miscellaneous band of instruments and voices, was good, but not so grand and varied as I expected. There were very few persons of any description present, except the officers of the Court—an unusual circumstance, owing to the difficulty of admission, and the jealousy with which the palace was guarded.

The Christmas festival is still observed in Madrid in the same manner that was practised a century ago. The evening of the vigil is scarcely dark when numbers of men, women, and boys are seen traversing the streets with

torches, and many of them supplied with tambourines, December.
which they strike loudly as they move along in a kind of Bacchanal procession. There is a tradition here, that the shepherds who visited Bethlehem on the day of the Nativity had instruments of this sort upon which they expressed the sentiment of joy that animated them, when they received the intelligence that a SAVIOUR was born. Hence for weeks before Christmas there is a fair in Madrid, where scarcely any thing but tambourines are sold, and every family, of the lower order at least, thinks it necessary to have one. If the younger branches do not issue into the streets with them, they use them in their houses; in some instances, aided by the guitar, they spend the whole night dancing to these tambourines, or to another instrument which they call a zambomba*.

At twelve o'clock, the midnight mass is celebrated in all the churches. As soon as the clock strikes, the priests come forth vested from the sacristy, and repair to the altar, which is already lighted and prepared for the occasion. The organ peals forth a hymn of joy, and the mass is commenced. During the service several pieces of national music are performed, particularly that which is called the *Munnira*, which is a fine old composition. But what is most remarkable in this ceremony is, that crowds of people, who, perhaps, had been traversing the streets the whole night, come into the church with their tambourines and guitars, and accompany the organ. I do not say that this is a custom deserving of approbation; to a foreigner, however, it appears a striking peculiarity, and when he considers it as a relic of

* The zambomba is a very noisy instrument. A skin of parchment moistened is tied on the mouth of an earthen vase; and to the centre of the parchment is fixed a reed, by the friction of which, when the parchment is dry, a sound like that of the tambourine, when rubbed by the finger, is produced.

December. old customs, he finds it the source of many strange and interesting reflections. When the mass is over, the musical groups begin to dance in the very body of the church, and there is really so much of the spirit of joy in their motions, that, though they are undoubtedly indecorous in this place, they are almost contagious. The fact is, that there is a little of the spirit of the grape too in these scenes. The eve of Christmas-day is a strict fast, but the Spaniards, who very rarely drink much, indulge liberally on this occasion in wine; and though there are few of them actually intoxicated, they are generally a little elevated. The best consequence of the whole is, that every body without exception is in a humour to please and to be pleased, an honourable trait in the national character, since it is well understood that the true disposition of the man appears unequivocally in his cups. You may say what you like to a Spaniard on this night, and he will not take offence. Every body wears a smile on his countenance.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH CLAIMS.—CONGRESS OF VERONA.—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.—PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALLIES.—CONDUCT OF SPAIN.

ALTHOUGH the British government declined to follow the example of the United States so far as to recognize the legal independence of the South American provinces, still it acknowledged their independence *de facto*, for commercial purposes; and allowed a mutual intercourse between those countries and Great Britain, without the intervention of Spain. The views of our cabinet upon this subject were communicated at an early period to that of Madrid, and a distinct understanding was the result; that although Spain would not repeal those ancient laws which excluded all other countries from trading with her colonies, still that she would not interfere with the trade proposed to be carried on between Great Britain and those colonies. This in fact was the understood condition which restricted our government from declaring the independence of the South American States. January.

The consequence was, that several merchants of London embarked in speculations for South America to a considerable amount; but day after day news was brought home of the capture and condemnation of British vessels, for infractions of those Spanish colonial laws which it was understood were virtually annulled by the explanations entered into with the cabinet of Madrid. The capture of the *Lord Collingwood* at length produced a sensation in the public mind which induced the Marquis of Londonderry to turn his attention to this subject, and Sir William A'Court's

January. departure for Madrid was hastened, that he might urge the government to grant indemnities for the injuries suffered by British subjects, in consequence of the seizure and confiscation of this, and several other vessels, together with their cargoes. When Mr. Canning came into office, he followed up the subject with unremitting energy. The whole of the claims amounted to near half a million sterling.

The conduct of the Spanish government, throughout these transactions, was far from being consistent with good faith and honour. At first they gave consent that British vessels should trade on the Spanish Main. It was a tacit consent, it was true, but it was deemed sufficiently explicit to induce British merchants to float to the Main upwards of six millions of property; and what was the result? As soon as the Spanish government are apprized that such a tempting prize is exposed to their grasp, they send out tacit orders to their admirals to seize every British ship they can find on the Main. But this is not all. When Sir William A'Court addressed a strong note upon this subject to San Miguel, the minister of state; he in reply justified the captures, upon the principle that the permission to trade was given tacitly, and that the orders to seize British ships were also given tacitly. He went so far as to say, that the trade was no more than one of connivance, and that the seizures were in the same situation.

Happily for the honour of England, the next note which the minister transmitted to San Miguel was that in which he informed him that two squadrons had sailed from Portsmouth, one for Puerto Rico, the other for Puerto Caballo, with orders to capture all the Spanish ships which they found entering, or within those ports, until the captures should be sufficient to cover the amount of the claims which had hitherto been so vainly urged on the Spanish government.

It was pointedly stated in Sir William A'Court's note,

that this measure had no connexion whatever with the question agitated in the Congress of Verona, concerning Spain—a question in which England had preserved, and would continue to maintain, the strictest neutrality. The despatch of the squadrons was, he insisted, solely and purely a defensive measure, imposed on the government of England by the circumstances of the case. January.

This was the true old English style of negotiation. Never was it more necessary, or more just; for in truth it would appear that the Spanish government reasoned the matter with themselves, in something like the following manner: "We have in South America troops upon whose fidelity our only hopes of recovering our colonies depend; but we possess no means of paying them. What is to be done? There are at this moment millions of British property in the Spanish Main: let us blockade the coast of Colombia, and seize all the British ships we can lay our hands upon. It matters not that we gave them our consent that they should trade thither—that consent was no more than a tacit one. Tacit also be our orders for their seizure; thus we shall be upon equal terms. The immediate result will be, that we shall obtain money for the payment of our troops in America; perhaps, also for the assistance of our internal embarrassments. It is probable that when the British sufferers come to make complaints, we may be compelled, by the power of England, to listen to them. Well, we may do so. But in the mean time we shall have gained the benefit of a species of forced loan from those opulent merchants, and we shall have the advantage of repaying them upon our own terms."

Accordingly, General Morales did proclaim the coast of Colombia in a state of blockade; and this was made the pretext for the piracies which were committed on British property.

January. The sailing of the squadrons brought the Cortes and the government to their senses; and at length the correspondence on the subject was referred to the diplomatic commission, which recommended that such claims as could be legally ascertained should be paid out of the general
2d. treasury. The Cortes confirmed the report; and, after some further correspondence, a convention was entered into, by which it was agreed that the claims should be ascertained by a mixed commission of British and Spanish subjects, to sit in London. It is understood that the claims so ascertained are to be paid by inscriptions in the Great Book of Spain—no very satisfactory security after all for those serious losses which our merchants have suffered. The Convention stipulates, however, that the blockade of the Colombian coast should be raised, which affords a safeguard for the future.

It is probable, and indeed it was alleged by San Miguel, that he was induced to bring these negotiations to a speedy conclusion, by the intelligence which he had received of the strictly neutral character sustained by the representative of England, at the Congress of Verona. In a conversation which he had with Sir William A'Court on the 24th of December, he said, "We are sure of England, and satisfied with her position; and we hope that the Cortes will enable us to make her satisfied with Spain. We cannot expect her to range herself on our side, nor to send troops or fleets to assist us; but we are persuaded, that she will never assist our enemies, nor furnish them with the means of invading us. It is, moreover, so much her interest to prevent war breaking out between us and France, that it is quite unnecessary to ask for her mediation. There is certainly nothing to induce us to ask for such a mediation at present; but we are at sea, surrounded by dangers, and menaced by storms, and it is impossible to say that we may not yet require a friendly hand. But we see nothing yet to make

it necessary for us to ask any mediation, nor have we at present any intention of soliciting one." January.

In order to explain the bearing of the latter part of San Miguel's observations, it is necessary to give a short view of the conferences and correspondence which had taken place up to this period both at Verona and Paris, upon the Spanish question.

It would appear that when the British ministry resolved that the Duke of Wellington should proceed to the Congress of Verona, they did not understand, or perhaps, more properly speaking, they did not affect to understand, as they had no official intimation, that the relations between France and Spain would be submitted to the decision of that assembly. When the Duke of Wellington, however, arrived in Paris, on his way to Verona, he soon learned from Monsieur de Villele*, that expectations were formed that the Congress would take into consideration the actual position of the French government in relation to Spain.

The position of France with regard to Spain was, in the early part of September, 1822, simply this:—From the time that a violent contagious fever, which carried away thousands at Barcelona, had excited apprehensions that it might be communicated by travellers to the southern departments of France, the government began to collect troops in those departments, and formed a line which it called the "Cordon Sanitaire," in order to prevent any persons from passing the frontiers who had not performed quarantine. In the mean-time, the civil war which had been already kindled in different parts of the Peninsula moved its principal seat to the three frontier provinces, Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre. The royalists probably conceived that the French troops were likely to assist them sooner or later—a hope

* 20th September, 1822.

January. which the ultra-royalist party of France encouraged. The civil war became more active; the French government began to apprehend serious dangers, or at least inconveniencies, from the proximity of the contest; they increased their army; and as the fever no longer afforded any pretexts for the continuation of the "Cordon Sanitaire," they called it an "Army of Observation."

The Duke of Wellington lost no time in writing home for instructions how he should proceed upon this new question. He was accordingly desired to declare, that if there were any project to interfere by force or by menace in the struggle going on in Spain, to any such interference, come what might, his majesty would not be a party. These instructions were evidently pointed, not against any individual designs entertained by France, but a general project of the allied Powers.

Soon after the Congress was fully assembled at Verona, M. de Montmorency, the French plenipotentiary, addressed* three questions in conference to the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain. In these interrogatories he inquired, whether if France should find herself under the necessity of breaking off her diplomatic relations with Spain, the other courts would do the same? whether if war should take place between France and Spain, the other powers would afford to France that moral support which would give to her measures the weight of the alliance? and lastly, whether, if France would desire it, they would lend her effective assistance? and if so, of what form, and to what extent?

To these questions Austria, Russia, and Prussia, answered,† that they would act as France should in respect to their ministers in Spain; and would give to France every

* Sunday night, 20th October, 1822. † 30th October.

countenance and assistance she should require; the cause for such assistance, and the period and mode of giving it, being reserved to be specified in a treaty. January.

The British minister, in his answer, energetically recommended to the allies to abstain from all interference in the internal affairs of Spain, and stated the decided opinion of his government, that any amelioration which might be desired in the Spanish system ought to be sought for in measures to be adopted in Spain, rather than abroad.

Upon the delivery of these answers, it was agreed* by the four continental courts, that they should write despatches to their respective ministers at Madrid, in which they would express their wishes and intentions. When the drafts of their despatches were prepared, they were communicated to the Duke of Wellington, that his Grace might, upon seeing them, make known the line which his Court would take; it being understood that copies of those despatches would be presented to the Spanish government by the foreign ministers at Madrid, to whom they were to be respectively addressed.

No account of the discussions which took place at this Congress has been published; but from the documents laid before parliament it may be inferred, that M. de Montmorency solicited the general co-operation of all the allies —morally in the first instance, and effectively, if necessary, against the revolution of Spain. It was evidently his object to make it a European question, in which the personal irritations, if I may be allowed the expression, existing between France and Spain, should be merged and lost.

The Duke of Wellington was aware that the origin, progress, and results of the Spanish revolution had long excited uneasiness in the cabinets of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; and he saw it would be useless to attempt to dissuade them

* 31st October.

January. from that expression of their sentiments upon this subject, which they had disclosed in the drafts of their despatches. His Grace, therefore, seems to have addressed himself, in the discussions which took place, to separate the general anti-revolutionary views of the three Courts just mentioned, from the individual causes of irritation against Spain, which appertained to France. In the answer* which he sent to the ministers of the Allies, after perusing the drafts of their despatches, he contemplated the possibility of a suspension of diplomatic relations between the three Allied Courts and Spain, whatever might be the state of the questions between France and the Peninsula. He thus sought to reduce the cause of war, if it should take place, to a personal and local quarrel between France and Spain, and to prevent that close union from taking place between the four Courts, which would give to the proceedings of France the appearance of being European. If he succeeded in this point, his next hope appeared to be, that England should stand in the character of a mediator between France and Spain, and might, by her good offices, the more easily prevent a war, the consequences of which to herself, as well as to the whole continent, it was impossible to calculate.

At the dissolution of the Congress, it appeared that the Duke of Wellington did succeed in his views to this extent, that no general declaration of the four Powers was issued, though there is little doubt that such a measure was originally intended. A marked difference of principle and language, between England and the other Powers, had shown itself throughout the discussions; and it was no slight advantage gained, that, by the suppression of such a general declaration, the secession of England from the Alliance stopped at a point compatible with the continuance of those friendly relations, which it is her interest to preserve with all

* 20th November.

the world. The cause of war was evidently reduced* from a general European question to a local quarrel between France and Spain; although the two French plenipotentiaries, M. de Montmorency and M. de Chateaubriand, left Verona with a different impression. January.

The British government has been blamed for not having instructed the Duke of Wellington to use strong language of remonstrance against the principles put forth by the continental Powers, in the first instance; and against the determination of France to invade Spain, in the second. With respect to the first, it appears to me that the British government, as well as their representative at Congress, took every occasion, and indeed sought for frequent opportunities, to protest generally against the principle of foreign interference in the internal affairs of independent states; and specifically as applied to the case of Spain. They pursued this principle through its consequences, by censuring even the animadversions of foreign Powers upon the internal transactions of an independent country, when the effect of those transactions did not extend beyond the precincts of the state in which they took place. The language used on these occasions was clear, decided, and expressive, such as a complete dissent of principle and opinion required. If England were desirous of forcing her political doctrines on the continental Powers by the instrumentality of the sword, it would have been necessary for her to have indicated her intentions by addressing her allies in the language of vituperation. But having predetermined to preserve peace for the world if she could, and peace for herself at all events, she would have compromised her dignity, in my opinion, if in the warmth of

* See M. de Montmorency's note of the 26th of December, addressed to the Duke of Wellington; Mr. Canning's note in answer of the 10th of January; M. de Chateaubriand's note of the 23d; and Mr. Canning's of the 28th.

January. discussion she had allowed herself to be led into intemperate or menacing language.

With respect to the other point, namely, the opposition given by the British plenipotentiary to the intended invasion of Spain by France, it is equally apparent that mere words would have had little effect, unless we were prepared to send out armies and fleets to support them. There never was a second opinion in the cabinet, or in the country, upon the impolicy of such a measure; but many have thought that England ought to have unfolded, in a solemn document, her reprobation of this most unjust and indefensible aggression of France against Spain. Perhaps at the moment when this audacious violation of international law was on the eve of taking place, such a document might have contributed to encourage the weak, and rouse the indifferent of Spain, to present a manly front to the invader. But on the other hand, it must be recollected, that in that moment of importance England stood in the capacity of a friend to both parties; and without being invested with the formal character of a mediator, she was requested by both sides to exert her good offices for the prevention of war. In these circumstances a public and solemn declaration of her sentiments would have only embarrassed her mediatorial proceedings; though possibly an occasion may arise hereafter, in which she may send forth such a document, and heal, as far as in her lies, the wound that has been inflicted on public liberty and the rights of nations by the lawless ambition of France.

It remains, therefore, to examine the proceedings which the British government thought proper to adopt for the preservation of peace, after the Congress of Verona was dissolved. Previous to that event, M. de Villele had taken several opportunities* of expressing to Sir Charles Stuart,

* See Mr. Canning's letter to the Duke of Wellington, dated December 6.

the British ambassador at Paris, his own earnest desire for the preservation of peace; and his wish to receive not only the support, but the advice of the British government, in his endeavours to preserve it. A similar wish had been communicated to Mr. Canning by the government of Spain *. The Duke of Wellington was accordingly instructed, upon his return to Paris from Verona, to offer to M. de Villele the mediation of his majesty between their Most Christian and Catholic Majesties †. In the first interview ‡ which his Grace had upon this occasion with the French minister, he prevailed upon him to send orders to Verona, to express the desire of the French government that the transmission of the despatches to Madrid by the three courts should be suspended. This was a proof that the French government reconsidered the measure to which its plenipotentiaries had agreed at Verona; and it was for some time hoped that this reconsideration might prevent a recourse to arms. In the interval, whilst the question was referred back to Verona, and it was doubtful what might be the result, the Duke of Wellington § acquainted the French government with the readiness of his majesty to accept the office of mediator between France and Spain, and to employ his most strenuous endeavours for the adjustment of their differences. January.

The formal mediation of England was declined || by the

* See extract of a despatch addressed by San Miguel to M. de Colomb, dated November 15, 1822.

† See Mr. Canning's letter just cited.

‡ See the Duke of Wellington's despatch to Mr. Canning, dated Paris, December 9.

§ 17th December.

|| The Duke de Montmorency's note to the Duke of Wellington, Paris, 26th December.

January. French government, on the grounds that no difference existed between France and Spain; no specific point of discussion, by the arrangement of which their relations might be placed on the footing on which they ought to stand. A wish, however, was more than implied, that the British government might succeed in her endeavours to preserve the peace of Europe, which was sufficient to encourage it to renew to Spain * the expression of its unabated desire to employ its good offices in whatever way might be most useful to that country for averting the dangers with which she was threatened. To this state had matters arrived when that conversation occurred between Sir William A'Court and M. San Miguel, which has been referred to in a previous part of this chapter, and from which it appears that the Spanish government did not then intend to solicit the mediation of this country. An understanding at the same time existed on all sides, that England, though not invested with the attributes of a mediator, would continue her best exertions for the prevention of war.

The delay caused in the transmission of the despatches from Verona, through the interposition of the French government, was but of short duration. In that interval M. de Montmorency, who was just created a duke for his exertions at Verona, resigned his seat in the cabinet. As soon as this circumstance was known, it produced a very general impression that the councils of France had undergone a total change, and that henceforth her policy would be purely pacific. But it soon appeared that the resignation of this minister arose from a feeling of delicacy upon his part, because he could not carry into effect his favourite doctrine of proceeding with the war as a European measure. Perhaps,

* Mr. Canning's despatch to Sir William A'Court, 29th December.

also, he was a little piqued by M. de Chateaubriand having January.
been sent to Congress, the mission seeming to belong exclusively to the office of Foreign Affairs, over which M. de Montmorency presided. It was, moreover, understood that M. de Chateaubriand had been received by high personages at the Congress with a marked distinction that touched the pride of his noble colleague. To the seat of that colleague M. de Chateaubriand succeeded, with a determination to pursue exactly the same line of policy; but he affected to make a shadow of distinction between his views and those of his predecessor in office, by calling the great question in agitation one that was at the same time "wholly French and wholly European;" a distinction that left the matter where it was. Whether the new minister was or was not guilty of duplicity in order to get into the cabinet, is an inquiry into which it is unnecessary for me to enter. That there was vacillation, a wish to recede from positive engagements, and to avoid the war, on the part of M. de Villele, seems highly probable from his declarations in the Chambers. It seems equally probable that he was at last decided to take a step by the advice of Russia; but that he wished to remove the appearance of her dictation, by submitting to strip the question as much as possible of its European character.

In these circumstances M. de Villele penned, or at least signed, that despatch to M. La Garde, which arrived in Madrid two days before the despatches from the courts of 3rd.
Austria, Russia, and Prussia. A copy of the French despatch was published in the *Moniteur*, which arrived by the same courier who conveyed the original to M. La Garde. It was immediately copied into the *Espectador*, the semi-official journal of the Spanish government; and the first impression which it made on the public mind was, that the cabinet of France had separated itself, to a certain extent,

January. from the views to which its plenipotentiary had agreed at Verona, in concert with the three other powers. Some even flattered themselves with the hope that it was of a pacific tendency; but, for my part, I could not perceive in the despatch any grounds upon which that hope was rested.

4th. The French minister, Count La Garde, lost no time in communicating to the cabinet of Madrid a copy of his despatch, and at the same time he endeavoured to give a favourable impression of the intentions of his government *. The ambiguous tone of the despatch was interpreted in such a manner by the French minister, that the Spanish cabinet appears to have been for a while lulled by it into a consciousness of perfect security, and was prepared to pay no very great attention to the despatches of the three other powers.

5th. The day after the latter documents arrived, copies of them
6th. were presented to the government. A written answer was promised to the several communications, and there was reason to believe that the departure of the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian representatives would follow. Indeed, it was first intended to send them their passports unasked; but Sir William A'Court prevailed on the foreign minister to take a more moderate course, and wait until they should apply for them. M. La Garde was to remain.

Although the Spanish government was thus set comparatively at ease (delusively, indeed, as will hereafter appear) with respect to France, was sure of the neutrality of England, and had little to apprehend from the vague suggestions of three distant powers, yet it did not exhibit any improper manner upon this occasion. M. San Miguel, in his conversations with the English minister † subsequently

* See Sir W. A'Court's despatch to Mr. Canning, Madrid, Jan. 7.
† Ibid.

to the arrival of the despatches above mentioned, spoke in a tone of much greater moderation, and held out more favourable hopes for the future, than he ever ventured to express before: he more than insinuated that modifications might be effected, whenever the country should be relieved from the danger of foreign interference. January.

CHAPTER X.

DEBATES IN CORTES ON THE FOREIGN DESPATCHES.—PROSPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

January 9. THE government having taken some days to consider the foreign despatches, which had been communicated to it, and of the answers proper to be returned to them, resolved on laying the whole of the documents before Cortes in a solemn public sitting. This was not one of those points which necessarily required the cognizance of Cortes; but the ministers believed they should be wanting to those fraternal sentiments which united them with the Congress, if they did not place the matter before them. Besides, the government of France had taken care to publish the instructions which it had transmitted to the Count La Garde, and the government of Spain thought they could do no less than follow its example.

It was not generally known that these important documents would be read to the Cortes; and, in consequence, the public galleries were not crowded, though rather well attended. Sir William A'Court was in the ambassador's tribune, to which also several English gentlemen were by his politeness admitted. The attendance of the deputies was full.

The Cortes had been previously engaged upon a question relating to ecclesiastical property; but from the manner in which it was treated, it was easy to perceive that the minds of the deputies were full of anxiety and fervour upon another subject. Now and then this sentiment broke out, and there was a partial cheer, when Senor Velasco, a clergyman, said, "I have learned to suffer privations, but there is no

sacrifice which I can deem too great for the benefit of Spain; and even though I were about to become the victim of indigence, still my last resources should be exhausted for the Constitution and the liberty of the nation." This discussion was suspended when the secretaries of state entered the hall of the Cortes, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and M. San Miguel appeared in the rostrum. Upon the instant every person present was breathless with attention, and the silence that pervaded the hall, the tribunes, and galleries, was as profound as if it were a desert. January.

After a short preface, he proceeded to read the note transmitted by the French government to Count La Garde, which having been already familiar to the deputies and strangers, excited little attention. San Miguel's enunciation is bad. He read in a dull monotonous voice, as if he were a schoolboy conning over his lesson before a severe master. He gave no emphasis to those sentences even in the answer to the French note, which was understood to be from his own pen. Yet no aid of elocution was necessary to render every word that fell from him impressive in the highest degree. When he came to that passage of his answer which says that Spain was indifferent as to the results of the Congress of Verona, because "secure of its principles, and firm in the determination of defending, at every hazard, its present political system and national independence," there was a general burst of enthusiasm, many of the deputies and the spectators clapping their hands. These applauses were renewed at the close of almost every subsequent paragraph; and when this paper was concluded, they were continued for several minutes.

The Austrian note was heard in silence until the minister came to the words, "and a *military rebellion* never can form the basis of an auspicious and permanent government;" there was a short murmur of indignation, which would have

January. been louder but for the intense desire that was felt to hear distinctly what followed. The assembly, taking it altogether, seemed struck with surprise at the light in which this note represented the history of the Spanish revolution. When they heard it said that the principal instruments of the Spanish revolution had excited Naples and Piedmont to follow the example of the Peninsula; Riego, Galiano, Arguelles, and others, smiled at the assertion, wondering at the hardihood of Metternich, who could put forth such a falsehood. Yet it was soon evident that this note, the result of Metternich's experienced wisdom, was drawn up with tact, and a knowledge of human nature; for before the general indignation was raised to its height, it was wonderfully softened by that appeal to national pride which was so artfully wrought up in the allusion to the peculiar position of Austria. "The house of Austria, looking to its own history, cannot but find in it the most powerful motives of friendship, solicitude, and sympathy for a nation which is able to record with just pride ages of glorious recollections, during which the sun never set upon her dominions; and which, possessing respectable institutions, hereditary virtues, religious sentiments, and love for her kings, has distinguished herself in every age by a patriotism always faithful, always generous, and very frequently heroical." This just and eloquent passage had an electric effect: you saw that the men were for a moment subdued; for flattery, so finely covered and directed, could not fail to touch every chord of national feeling. But this result was only for the moment; for, although the remainder of the note was framed in language alternately soothing and severe, the terms in which the king was spoken of, as a captive deprived of his liberty, and the authors of the Constitution represented as acknowledging its impracticability, excited unqualified hostility. When the note was concluded, however, there was no very general expression of indignation,

as its effect was in some measure qualified by the friendly and admonitory tone in which it ended. January

After pausing a few minutes, San Miguel proceeded to read the note from Prussia. Every thing depends chiefly upon the manner in which it is done. There was a great deal of flattery in the commencement of the Prussian note; but it sounded hollow, and evidently appeared as if thrown in by a command which said, "Put down something in the beginning to cajole them." The consequence was, it was laughed at. The dignity of the assembly could scarcely be preserved when that passage was read, which stated that the Cortes "presented nothing more than a conflict of opinions and objects, and a struggle of interests and passions, in the midst of which the most foolish resolutions and propositions have been constantly crossed, combated, or neutralized." This picture of the Cortes and its debates, if not false, was at least well calculated to excite laughter by the zeal which it professed to entertain for those propositions which it terms "the most foolish." The remainder of the note, which is full of invectives against the Constitution, was received with indignation, not unfrequently interrupted by strong expressions of contempt.

But all the rage of the Cortes—or rather, I might say, of the general assembly, for the spectators in the galleries seemed to form an integral part of the meeting—all the rage of this anxious assembly appeared to be reserved for the Russian communication. The sentence commencing the second paragraph, "when in the month of March, 1820, some *perjured* soldiers turned their arms against their sovereign and their country," &c. was frequently interrupted by murmurs from the galleries and the deputies, and amidst these the former exclaimed more than once, "*Abaxo el tirano!*" (down with the tyrant) uttered with a fierceness of tone peculiarly Spanish.

January. During the time the minister was reading this paper, the agitation among the deputies was extreme. Some turning from one side to the other in a state of painful suffering; some raising their hands on high, in astonishment; some looking intensely on the minister, their faces fired with vengeance; some, the elders of the senate, fixed like rocks, against which the waves and storms of ages have toiled in vain. In every man's countenance you might read a different mode of expression; but in all, the thing expressed was the same—horror at the violent misrepresentations which they believed these notes contained, and a burning desire, not only to resist the aggressions which menaced their Spain; but to rush forth to avenge the insults which were flung upon her liberty and honour.

It was observable, that frequently the deputies fixed their eyes attentively on the ambassador's tribune, in which Sir William A'Court and several English gentlemen were seated. They looked on this tribune as representing that great and free country from which they had as yet experienced nothing but friendship, and from which they ardently hoped to meet with assistance. When in the notes a sentence of peculiar despotism was read, many an eye was raised to that box, to read the impression which it made there. Sir William A'Court's countenance gave them neither hope nor despair; but several of his countrymen took very few pains to restrain that abhorrence which these documents must ever excite in the breasts of men who know what freedom is, and are resolved to maintain it. These expressions of sympathy were anxiously looked for by the deputies, and afforded them evidently great satisfaction. They remarked upon them one to the other, and occasionally smiled.

San Miguel concluded with reading the copy of a circular note, which was to be sent to the Spanish ministers at each of the three northern courts, and in which it was stated that the

despatches transmitted by those courts were so full of dis- January.
torted facts, injurious suppositions, unjust and calumnious criminations, and vague demands, that they required no formal answer: but that the government would take a more convenient opportunity for publishing to the nations its sentiments, principles, and resolutions.

As soon as the reading of these documents was over, the president of Cortes said, " The Cortes have heard the communication which the government of his majesty has just made. Faithful to their oath, and worthy of the people whom they represent, they will not permit that any alterations or modifications shall be made in the Constitution by which they exist, except by the will of the nation, and in the manner which the laws prescribe. The Cortes will give to the government of his majesty every means for repelling the aggression of those powers who may dare to attack the liberty, the independence, and the glory of the heroic Spanish nation, and the dignity and splendour of the king's Constitutional throne."

This well-timed reply was received with a peal of *vivas* that lasted for several minutes. The deputies all rose in a confused manner, and shouted *viva la Constitucion, viva la soberania nacional,* in which they were enthusiastically joined by the people in the galleries.

As soon as order was in some measure restored, Senor Galiano moved that a message should be sent to the king, to assure him of the determination of the Cortes to " sustain the lustre and independence of the constitutional throne, the sovereignty and rights of the nation, and the Constitution by which they exist; and that for the attainment of such sacred objects there were no sacrifices which they would not decree, convinced that they would be made with enthusiastic readiness by all Spaniards, who would subject themselves to endure the whole catalogue of evils, rather than

January. bargain with those who would attempt to defile their honour, or to attack their liberties."

The greater number of the deputies rose in a body to approve this proposition by acclamation; whilst others, as well as the mover, were attempting at the same time to speak in support of it. Some cried out that the proposition was unanimously agreed to; others, that no vote was required, that Senor Galiano's voice was that of the National Congress. In the midst of this enthusiastic confusion, Senor Sanchez was heard to say, that "Europe and the whole world ought to know, that the Spanish nation desired peace, but refuses not war; and that it is determined to repeat even to excess its former sacrifices rather than suffer an attempt upon its independence, or recede one step in its Constitutional system."

The motion was then carried by acclamation; after which, upon the suggestion of Senor Arguelles, it was referred to the diplomatic committee to draw up a minute of the proposed message to the king, and to present it to Cortes at the expiration of forty-eight hours. This distance of time was named in order to allow the minds of the deputies to cool before they delivered their opinions upon the notes which had been read. For, as Senor Galiano observed, "to-day this discussion would be violent, tempestuous, and agitated, and another day it will be temperate, calm, and majestic, such as becomes the Spanish nation, always grander when dangers become greater, moderate and dignified even when it sees itself attacked by means the most villanous and base*." When this debate, if such it might

* The sentence in the original is no bad specimen of the aptitude of the Spanish language for oratory. "En efecto, hoy dia esta discusion deberia ser violenta, tempestuosa y agitada, y otro dia sera reposada, tranquila y magestuosa, cual conviene a la nacion Espanola, siempre

be called, was concluded, the deputies and spectators re- January.
newed their applauses; several of the former were seen to embrace each other who had been hitherto adversaries in sentiment, among them Galiano and Augustin Arguelles, rivals in eloquence, and leaders of distinct though not opposite parties.

In the course of the afternoon a report was spread of the important communications which had been made to Cortes, and of the manner in which they were received. It caused a strong sensation in the capital, and at night a number of people paraded through the principal streets, attended by a band of music, which played patriotic airs. They carried large torches in their hands, and shouted at intervals *Viva la Constitucion!*

The following day a detailed account of the debate, and 10th.
copies of the notes and answers* were published in the principal journals. From an early hour of the morning the offices of the *Universal* and the *Espectador*, and the streets leading to them, were thronged with applicants for papers. During the whole day the demand was so great, that it was impossible to satisfy it; but a plan was adopted which, in some measure, compensated for this defect. When a lucky patriot succeeded in getting a paper, he posted to the Puerta del Sol, or to the arcades of the post-office; and here, as soon as he produced his prize, a crowd collected around him, and he read aloud the whole of the journal from the beginning to the end. I saw several of these groups so employed, all ears to catch the hurried sounds of the reader. In general the Spaniards pronounce their beautiful language in a clear and distinct manner; but I was surprised at the

mas grande en los mayores peligros, moderada y magestuosa aun-cuando se vea atacada por medios los mas viles y rateros."

* For these documents, see Appendix, No. II.

January. energy of elocution which some of these politicians displayed. The remarks which the listeners occasionally made were short and pithy. "Hear," said one, "hear this Prussian king, who once promised a constitution to his own subjects;" "and who never gave it," added another. "Only observe how tender he is of the Catholic church; he himself a heretic." This caused a laugh. "Now for the Russian bear," remarked another. "Down with the parricidal race! down with the tyrant!" they said, as the reader proceeded. The acuteness which the people composing these groups displayed, though their raiment was not, perhaps, altogether of a courtly fashion, was surprising. They showed it not, perhaps, so much in any observations which they made, as in the eagerness with which they received and understood every word they heard.

11th. The day being arrived for the debate on the message, the galleries and tribunes were crowded immediately after the doors were opened. At half past eleven in the forenoon the Deputies were all assembled. After the usual preliminary of reading and approving the Act of the previous Session, Senor Galiano entered the rostrum on the left hand of the chair, and read the message, at the conclusion of which the spectators in the galleries showed their approbation, by clapping their hands. I confess that this interference of the populace offended my ideas of legislative decorum, when I reflected a little upon it. If they are allowed to signify approval, I apprehend they will not hesitate, when the occasion arises, to express dissent also; and, in this case, what becomes of the freedom of debate? But I must also observe, that it formed no unpleasing sight to see such a number of respectable people in the galleries, rising row above row, all raised to the highest tone of enthusiasm, and animated by one mind on this solemn occasion. There was, perhaps, after all, a little of theatrical show in this exhibition—at

least, to an Englishman it appeared so; but there was no man, from whatever country he came, who could look upon this Hall of Deputies and crowd of populace, without being affected with strong emotions. Senor Galiano, when he entered the rostrum, made an effort to give his attitude and manner as much dignity as possible. He is short of stature, but he seemed as if he would willingly elevate it to suit the majesty of his office. He read the message in a pompous manner, but it was not a manner assumed at this moment: it is his usual characteristic. January.

The debate was commenced by Senor Saavedra, the youngest Deputy of Cortes, and a gentleman of an ancient family, who had hitherto distinguished himself rather as a poet than an orator*. He thought it was necessary that the deputies should take this opportunity of explaining their ideas, and the grounds of that heroical decision, which they

* M. Saavedra lately published two volumes of miscellaneous poems, and a tragedy called *Lanuza*, which has been well received on the stage. The elegant literature of Spain was, however, at this time under a kind of cloud. Every intellect of any force was absorbed in politics; and if there were any visionary who bestowed his thoughts on things not belonging to the immediate transactions of the day, and published them, his work came forth still-born. Every week teemed with pamphlets of a small size, from ten to fifteen pages at the most, but as soon as they were read, they were consigned to never-ending oblivion. Saavedra, however, had the good fortune to have his tragedy and his poems read amidst the din of political combats. He has been highly praised for his genius, but I imagine that a good deal of this eulogy was heaped upon him because he has mingled politics with his poetry. Such of his minor poems as I have read appear to me to be the offspring of a warm heart and a feeble imagination. But it must also be said of him that upon this occasion he spoke with very considerable energy, if not with eloquence. Who, that had a soul to feel, and lips to give utterance to thought, would not be eloquent when he saw his country attacked by such scandalous notes as those of the northern sovereigns?

January. had already given, presenting to Spain, to all Europe, and to the whole world, a scene of the utmost grandeur and majesty, and a guarantee the most assured that the tree of liberty had deep roots in their soil, and a presage the most certain, that, in spite of storms, it would still continue to grow and extend its benignant branches over their country. The notes of the foreign Powers he considered as so many attacks upon the rights of every nation upon earth, as incendiary proclamations, in which the most infamous calumnies were made use of, principles were confounded, and liberty alone was assailed without any consideration of the bases upon which it was established. What right had these Powers to intrude themselves into the private affairs of Spain? Why did they now complain of a constitution which the Emperor of Russia solemnly recognized in 1813, which he caused some Spaniards to swear to who happened to be then in his dominions, and which he had translated into his own language; a constitution, in fine, which was also recognized by the King of Prussia in 1814? Then they wanted Spanish arms to sustain their vacillating thrones; and they knew full well that it was the holy fire of liberty alone which could destroy the colossus who menaced them. The French note was of a different character, though it pursued the same object: it was couched in more vague and confused terms, but it contained the same poison—the more strange, since that Power owed its existence to Spanish energy, and, perhaps, to the influence of that constitution which it now insulted. Spain never would permit the interposition of foreigners in her internal affairs. If any of them were insolent enough to attempt it, they would soon learn that the heroes were still alive who annihilated the formidable hosts of Napoleon, conquered the conquerors of the Teutonians, the Prussians, and the Sarmatians: that Zaragoza and Gerona still existed: that the cannons of Albuera and San

Marcial might still be mounted: and that Spaniards still preserved those blood-stained swords with which they opened in their fields the wide tomb that devoured their invaders. If there were Powers so forgetful of their own interests as to attempt to make war upon Spain, let them come to the country of heroes, where they would find, instead of luxury and gold, virtue and steel. January.

Canga, who followed Saavedra, is a man pretty far advanced in years; but the winter of age, that has partly silvered his hair, has not yet penetrated to his mind. The flow of his ideas, the rapidity of his language, and the animation of his gesture, are amazing. To these he adds a thorough and extensive knowledge of the history of his country. "The Spanish nation," he observed in the course of his speech, "did not enjoy, in the ancient ages, a general and uniform constitution; such as it now possesses. Divided into kingdoms, though all recognized one basis, they differed in the application of principles: hence the constitution of Castile, that of Aragon, that of Navarre, that of Biscay, and partly also that of the Asturies. Notwithstanding this, Spain acknowledged, from the most remote ages, the unshaken principle of the national sovereignty which has so much scandalized the holy Allies. *We who are more than you*, said the Aragonese to their kings, *acknowledge you as king, provided that you guard our privileges; and if not, not.* The Castilians exacted from their monarch an oath to observe the laws; the Catalonians made their king swear to their rights before they pledged to him their allegiance; and the Biscayans made him swear three times on the consecrated host to their laws.

"From this principle was derived the faculty of deposing the kings when they failed in their promises. The success of Henry IV. in Castile proved the exercise of this terrible faculty there: when the Portuguese shook off the yoke, in

January. the time of Don John I., they acted on the maxim that the community gives the royal power, *and when it is expedient, it can withdraw that power, and nominate a new sovereign.* Blancas states that *it was the privilege of the Aragonese* freely to elect or to depose their king. The friar, Juan Guelbes, at the time of the troubles of Catalonia, in consequence of the imprisonment of the Prince of Viana, and of the entry of the King of Aragon, assisted by the French, inculcated from the pulpit that they might expel him from the kingdom and elect another, because he had violated their rights; and that, for this purpose, they wanted not the sanction of Pope or Emperor, since neither one nor the other had temporal dominion in the country.

"From the same basis was derived the right of insurrection and resistance whenever the people were oppressed, that is to say, whenever the chief failed in his oath and his duties. The tenth Law, title the first of the second division, after affirming that those kings are tyrants who love their own interest more than that of the country, and that they become tyrants first when they oppress, because their subjects, being ignorant and timid, dare not revolt nor oppose their will; secondly, when they endeavour to divide them, in order that they should distrust one another; and, thirdly, when they oppress them by making them poor, by corrupting the powerful, by executing the learned, and by prohibiting the existence of assemblies and corporations, adds, that in such cases, *they can declare the legitimate king a tyrant for turning the sceptre into an instrument of injustice.* Hence arose the confraternities of Castile, not tumultuary or insurrectionary assemblies as they were called by the despotism of the house of Austria when it destroyed our liberties, but meetings, as legal as the Cortes, as the learned Marina shows. Hence, also, the union of the Aragonese; hence the obligation which the laws impose upon

all, even not excepting women, to come armed to the defence of liberty and independence, when they see them attacked, without waiting for the *royal command;* hence the right of accusing the monarchs when they deviated from the path of the law, and of separating from them, by force, those who, being about their persons, influenced them to the public detriment; and hence the right of looking upon such actions as inherent in loyalty. This alone is enough to defend the Spanish army from the accusation which the Allies have made against it." January.

After applying himself, in detail, to controvert the assertions and principles contained in the notes, Senor Canga concluded with expressing his confident expectation that Spain would prove herself as brave in 1823 as she was in 1808, and that she would sustain her rights, her independence, and her honour with the same energy with which she carried on a sanguinary struggle of seven hundred years against the Moors. "But if misfortune should be superior to our strength, burying us in the ruins of our country, and burying us the first, the deputies who have obtained that country's confidence, we shall prove to the world the steadiness of our principles and character; and our ashes, and the ruins of our cities, accusing to the end of time the injustice of our enemies, shall send forth shouts of vengeance, which producing one day a general explosion, shall awaken liberty to new life in spite of the tyrants."

Senor Don Joaquin Ferrer made a few observations, which were not much attended to, in consequence of the anxiety of the audience to hear Augustin Arguelles. This gentleman is deemed the most eloquent speaker in the Cortes. His oratory is full of strong reasoning and crowded with facts; it is convincing, and sometimes irresistible, from the sudden diversion which he makes from powerful logic to the seat

January. of those feelings which govern the resolutions of men. He seemed on this occasion to hold a sceptre over the minds of his auditors, and to awaken in them such sentiments as he wished to inspire. While he spoke, every one of the deputies appeared to be entranced by his eloquence; and when he concluded, there was a general look up to the ambassador's tribune, to see what effect it produced there. He spoke for an hour and ten minutes; and when he first rose, often during his speech, and immediately after he sat down, he was cheered by the populace, and even by the deputies, in the most lively and affectionate manner.

Senor Alcala Galiano followed in the debate. He is yet a young man; and, as I have already observed, a little affected and pompous in his delivery. He was the editor of a provincial journal at the time of the declaration of the army of the Isla in favour of the Constitution. His style of speaking is more poetical than that of Arguelles, and calculated more to win the ear than to convince the understanding. He is fond of long periods and sounding expressions, and very frequently pours out sentences in continuation, at each of which the audience is inclined to exclaim, "beautiful." His gesture is also particularly forcible, picturesque, and varied, and altogether he is such a man as a public assembly would put forward to make a holiday speech*.

Several other deputies demanded the right of speaking, but it was decided by a majority that the question was sufficiently discussed; and the message was, of course, agreed to unanimously. It was ordered, that the debate should be printed in a form separate from the "Journal of Cortes," and distributed gratuitously through the whole kingdom

* I have not introduced any passages from the discourses of these two gentlemen, as they must be fresh in the remembrance of the public.

and its dependencies. A deputation was appointed to present the message to the king. January.

When the Cortes rose, the crowd in the galleries rushed down to the deputies' door, and waited until Galiano and Arguelles came out, when they seized on them by main force, and carried them off in triumph on their shoulders. They were obliged to exert all their eloquence to get permission to descend again, and they took refuge in the president's carriage. The populace followed the carriage to the president's house, singing all the way patriotic songs, and shouting *Viva la Constitucion!* In the evening bands of music paraded the streets by torch-light, and the night passed away in perfect tranquillity.

The ministers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, had in the meantime formally demanded their passports, which were sent to them; and, as soon as their arrangements for travelling were completed, they took their departure from Madrid. 13th. The French minister was privately instructed by his government to remain in Madrid until further notice, unless insults were offered to the representatives of the other Powers before they quitted the capital. The correspondence which took place between those representatives and M. San Miguel, on this occasion, was sufficiently temperate on all sides, with the exception of the letters of the Russian minister, as well as of the answers he received. In these latter documents there was more roughness of expression than one is accustomed to meet with in diplomatic writing. Though the effervescence of the popular mind was still unabated, it is honourable to the country that no disposition was shown by the people to offer any sort of offence to men, who were the channels of the most insulting communications that were ever made by one independent state to another.

At this stage of affairs a question naturally started up, as soon as the general enthusiasm had in some measure sub-

January. sided—What was the new situation of the Spanish Government? Was it one which promised permanence to the Constitution? or augured its destruction?

Generally speaking, novelties of any sort have a great deal to struggle against, before they can be amalgamated with the habits, and endeared to the feelings of a nation. Even where no doubts are entertained of the utility of a change, it is always difficult, and sometimes impossible, to induce communities to approve of it. It disturbs in a thousand little ways the previous routine of their lives; it imposes upon them new duties; and, as in the case before us, it may exact from them sacrifices which they are unwilling to make. The necessity of suppressing the "factious" forced the government to muster large armies by means of a conscription. In many provinces this measure was resisted, and in all it was the subject of bitter complaints with families, who sometimes saw their only stay snatched from them by the arm of the laws. The agitations prevailing in the country, and the losses which were occasioned in some provinces by the actual presence, or the incursions of the "factious," rendered it difficult for great numbers of persons to pay in their contributions to the state; and they were harassed by proceedings for enforcing them. It was frequently stated in Cortes, that the annual amount of the contributions levied on the people, since the restoration of the Constitution, was considerably below that which was paid during the despotism. I am not prepared to confirm or dispute this assertion: but from all that I saw or heard up to this time in Spain, I was convinced that the people generally did not believe this allegation, and that the great majority of them were desirous of nothing so much as of peace. If any tradesman, or a peasant labouring in the fields, were asked whether he was a Constitutionalist, the answer was, "All that I want is peace." Exceptions to this

observation might have been met with in places where party spirit ran high, and divided towns and villages into different sects. But where the passions were not excited, "Peace—Peace!" was the desire of all. January.

As to the clergy, it was notorious that the great majority of the secular as well as the regular degrees were at heart hostile to the constitution, however they might have found it necessary to disguise their feelings. The friars naturally detested the new system, because it swore imperishable hatred against them; the bishops, canons, and parochial clergy were exasperated, because the Cortes had reduced the tithes to one-half of their former amount; and had appropriated to the state different sorts of funds which had long been subservient to the splendour of the church. If there were those who wished to annihilate the church and clergy altogether, they would have found it a difficult task. The Spanish people are wedded to their religion, or at least to its ceremonies. They have had no writers amongst them such as Voltaire and Rousseau, who by a fashionable wit, or the eloquence of a rash imagination, might have rendered the doctrines of impiety and immorality attractive. Even if, unhappily, such writers had existed in Spain, the people were never sufficiently educated to read and comprehend their works. Hence they were in a very different situation from that in which the French were found at the commencement of their Revolution. That is to say, the Spaniards were not absolutely demoralized, and any attempt to extirpate or banish the clergy, as a body, would have inevitably rebounded on the heads of its contrivers.

It can be scarcely necessary to add, that the grandees, with very few exceptions, were as much opposed to the new system as the clergy. It wounded their pride to the quick, because it levelled them in point of rank with the lowest of

January. the people: it gave them no privilege in lieu of this degradation; it subjected them to the performance of the duties of common constables, to service in the militia, and to enormous taxation; for their estates, already encumbered by their own or their ancestors' necessities, were charged according to their nominal value. To this it may seem an answer that many of the nobility have taken offices under the Constitution, and have materially assisted its progress. This is true to a certain extent; but it is equally true, that several were voluntary exiles both from the country and the system; as to the rest, their sincerity has been doubted, with the exception, perhaps, of the Duke del Parque, the Duke of Frias, and the Marquis of Santa Cruz, who seem to understand and appreciate the blessings of liberty. Even these three noblemen would, perhaps, witness without displeasure the establishment of a chamber of peers.

Looking, therefore, to the Peninsula alone, it would appear that the mass of the people were indifferent with respect to the Constitution; and two very powerful classes were sincerely adverse to it. Every day new enemies to the system rose from the bosom of the country; and in point of fact it was upheld only by the army, by those enjoying public employments, and those desirous to obtain them.

In addition to these things, the four principal Powers of the continent had openly declared their hostility against the Constitution of Spain. The ministers of three of those Powers were already withdrawn, and their relations with the court of Madrid suspended. The minister of the fourth was indeed still lingering in the capital: a curious instance of undisguised double dealing on the part of France, and of conscious weakness on that of the Spanish Government. Was it possible, then, that under these formidable disadvantages the Constitution could march on to its consolidation?

CHAPTER XI.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Spanish government evidently felt some such impressions as those just mentioned, for soon after the foreign ministers had demanded their passports, a formal request was made* by San Miguel for the good offices of England, to prevent the breaking out of a war between France and the Peninsula. It was well remarked at the time by the British minister at Madrid, that if France were pacifically inclined, something might grow out of this overture which would prevent a recurrence to arms. France might state what she wanted to Great Britain, who might thus, in the event of the departure of the French minister from Madrid, become the medium of her communications with the government of Spain. This, at all events, was the last hope that now remained for the preservation of peace; and faint as it was, it became the British government to do the best they could with it.

January 12th.

The overture was accordingly brought before M. de Chateaubriand by Sir Charles Stuart†, who, in pursuance of his instructions, offered the British minister at Madrid as a channel of communication with the Spanish government. He added, that his government was anxiously desirous to promote in this, or any other way, the attainment of such a settlement in Spain, as France might deem consistent not only with her safety, but her honour. To this communication M. de

* Sir W. A'Court's despatch, dated Madrid, 12th January, and San Miguel's despatch of the same date inclosed.

† 22d of January.

January. Chateaubriand answered, that the Duke of San Lorenzo (the Spanish minister at Paris) had been with him, and had spoken in moderate language respecting the situation of the two governments; but that a conciliatory tone was assumed by the agents of Spain, which did not prevent the adoption of principles the most incompatible with the tranquillity of Europe, by the government and the legislature of that country: that at the moment they admitted all the defects of their Constitution, their readiness to concur in the operation of a change, and their wish for the publication of a general amnesty, their societies were most active in their endeavours to organize revolt in France. In short, he added, the enormity of the evils resulting from war, was not to be compared with the consequences which must result from the success of intrigues, which the French ministers had no means of preventing during the continuance of peace. He did not question the sincerity of the efforts of the British government to maintain peace, but he was convinced it was impossible seriously to press the subject on the Spanish Government in sufficient time to lead to the desired result *.

This language of the French minister was, perhaps, somewhat exaggerated as to the intrigues imputed to the Spanish government and legislature, for the purpose of producing revolt in France. It is not probable, from what I could learn, that either the government or Cortes, or any of their principal members, had any connexion with those intrigues. But that there was a party of French refugees in the Peninsula, who, aided by some Spaniards, carried on communications with France, with the view of exciting a rebellion in that country, is a fact that seems to be nearly established by the recent trials of Berton and his

* Sir C. Stuart's despatch, January 23d.

associates, and other insurgents. These attempts at insurrection the French government had effectually put down; and it did not follow as a just consequence, that because such intrigues might still have been carried on by a desperate and contemptible band of French and Spaniards in the Peninsula, that therefore France ought to declare war against Spain. It was an evil undoubtedly, but such an one as might be remedied by the Spanish government and legislature. January.

It would appear, however, that in the course of this conversation, Sir Charles Stuart understood from the language of M. de Chateaubriand, that the French government would be glad to avail itself of the publication of an amnesty, accompanied by any change, however trifling, if brought about by the authority of the king, which might enable it to avoid proceeding to extremities. At this time there was a party in the Cortes, labouring hard to bring about the amnesty to which M. de Chateaubriand alluded. The measure was, I believe, recommended by Sir William A'Court; at least he did every thing in his power to forward it, by representing the favourable impression it would not fail to produce throughout Europe*.

In the meantime, the British government was well aware that all the exertions it could make for the preservation of peace would be fruitless, unless some specific arrangements were entered into for the purpose of assimilating the institutions of Spain to those of other free countries. To propose these arrangements without seeming to dictate them; to obtain the consent of the Spanish government and Cortes, without the appearance of their being forced to it by the apprehension of an invasion, was a point of peculiar delicacy and difficulty.

* Sir Wm. A'Court's despatch, January 15.

January. There was no person, who had seriously considered the scheme of the Spanish Constitution, who did not agree that its vital imperfection was the appropriation of the legislative power to one assembly together with the king. From the nature of that assembly, which was chosen on the most extensive principle of popular suffrage, it must necessarily happen, that frequent collisions of opinion would arise between it and the monarchy. In these cases the Cortes must always have been the stronger party; not only because they had the power of exciting the people to support them, but because whatever measure they proposed must have succeeded after the lapse of a certain period, even against the king's wishes*. An intermediate body, invested with a share of the legislative power, was clearly necessary in the first place, in order to introduce harmony into the system; and by whatever name it might be called, it was equally evident that this intermediate body, or second chamber, should comprise the higher orders of the state. As individuals, the persons composing these orders would have interests in common with the mass of the people: as nobles, they would be in a particular manner attached to the rights and dignities of the sovereign, and thus they might be fairly expected to adjust the balance between the king and the representative assembly, as often as either party would seek to preponderate.

One of the arguments most commonly used against the erection of a Second Chamber is to this effect, that the nobility of Spain are too numerous; that it would be impossible to draw a line between them; and even if it were possible to distinguish those grades, to which the Peerage ought to be given, still another objection would remain—namely, that all the Nobles of Spain, from the highest grandee to the

* See articles 147, 148, and 149, of the Constitution.

lowest shadow of a Count, are so ignorant, so idle, so dissi- January.
pated, and so poor, that they are unfit to legislate for a free people. They have fallen, it is added, into general and irretrievable contempt; their manners are vitiated, their education neglected; and, to finish the picture, they are all servile courtiers; who, if they had the power, would in one breath annihilate the Constitution. These are grave charges undoubtedly; but, in the first place, it should be kept in mind that they are made by the democratical party, who have a direct interest in raising as many difficulties as possible against even the bare idea of a Second Chamber. Those persons violate every principle of experience and common justice, who form their opinions on the state of the Spanish nobility upon the mere dictamen of their most interested and decided adversaries. It is, indeed, a deplorable truth, that the ancient nobles of Spain have been long deprived of that political weight which belonged to their rank and property. Nothing is more apt to excite a disrespect bordering on contempt, than hereditary rank without personal influence; and in this view, there is some degree of probability attached to the assertion, that the nobility of Spain is below its just position in the estimation of the multitude. The extensive diffusion too of nobility—or, at least of pretensions to it, has necessarily augmented this effect; nor has the envy of the multitude been altogether idle in fixing upon titled blood that evil name which, according to their opinion, it bears, and ought to bear to the end of time.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate circumstances, however, there is a very considerable body of the nobility, including about fifty grandees, which has long commanded the respect of every man whose approbation is valuable. It is not denied that some of them have been courtiers. The court is the natural resort of a Spanish nobleman.

January. It is not denied that some of them have yielded to those vices, which unhappily are too fashionable amongst the higher ranks of England and France, as well as of Spain. If the latter test were applied even to the deputies chosen by the people, how many of them would come out safe from the scrutiny? The noblemen alluded to have their faults, as all men have, but not in a greater proportion than others, though, perhaps, on account of their rank, their acts are rendered more conspicuous. Still there are many of them men of inflexible virtue, benevolent and charitable on system; enlightened promoters of industry, considering the stage to which their country has advanced, and though, perhaps, not so profoundly read in systems of legislation as Mr. Bentham, yet sufficiently informed, and sensible to know, and to approve of, principles which are conducive to the welfare of that nation in which they have the most extensive interest. They proved these qualities in an eminent degree, when they were called upon by England to resume their natural attitude, and to expel the Usurper from the Peninsula. Since the restoration of the Constitution, several noblemen have been in the cabinet, in the council of state, upon foreign missions, and in Cortes; and it does not appear that any of them wanted the qualifications necessary for the performance of their important duties.

With respect to the operation of drawing a line between those who should be peers, and those of the lower degrees, it is one that presents difficulties only to those who are solicitous to find them. When we are reluctant to accomplish an object, mole-hills rise into mountains; when we are eager to effect a desired end, mountains lessen into mole-hills. The line in fact is already drawn—the grandees, from forty to fifty in number, are the legitimate peers of Spain. If it were necessary to add to their numbers, there are enlightened

bishops, and deputies of the late and present Cortes, who January.
are worthy of being raised to that rank. To say that in giving to the higher nobility the privilege of sitting and legislating in a separate Chamber, the king and his council ought to listen to the claim of every peasant who has a noble ensign cut in stone over the door of his miserable cabin, is an argument used purposely to embarrass and degrade the question.

If, however, there were some degrees whose distinction merited attention, why should they not be permitted to elect either for life, or for the particular Cortes, one from among their own body, who would represent their rights and interests in the legislature? The Irish peerage affords them an example of the former—the Scottish of the latter. All interests might thus be reconciled. The people would be assured that no law could be passed prejudicial to their liberties, whilst they had proper representatives in the Lower Chamber; the peerage, secured in their rights and privileges—rights which time has consecrated—privileges which are dear to them as liberty is to the people, would effectually support the system of freedom; and the king, released, by an intermediate reconciling power, from those violent jealousies which exist between the prerogatives of the crown and the sovereignty of the people, would feel it his duty and his pride to be the first magistrate of a free, dignified, and united nation.

Without the establishment of a Second Chamber, Spain never would be tranquil—and, what is more, never could be free. In combating for their liberties, the Constitutionalists indeed defeated their adversaries; but they had not yet won the noble prize for which they contended. Who could say that the banner of freedom waved over Spain, whilst it was circumvallated by forests of bayonets? Who would assert that the human mind was independent in Spain, where the

January. dissent of opinion was persecuted as treason? There were no persons free in Spain but the *Exaltados;* they would make the world ring with their complaints of slavery, if they did not happen to be the rulers of the people, and the tyrants of public opinion. Push them down from their tribunes, and they would instantly cry out, that liberty had fled from the Peninsula—for their sense of liberty was no more than their own exclusive domination. In a pure republic all this would be consistent, and, to a certain extent, inevitable; but if Spain would continue a monarchy, it was necessary that she should modify her system.

The shadow, or rather I might say, the skeleton of a Second Chamber, was in fact already existing in the Council of State. This council was modelled by the Constitution on a new principle, and with powers not so extensive as those which a similar body exercised during former reigns. It consists of forty members, four of whom, and no more, must be ecclesiastics of "tried information and merit." Of these ecclesiastics, two are bishops *. Of the forty, four also must be Grandees of Spain, men of "virtue, talent, and information;" and the rest men of any class (generally the higher classes are preferred), who have distinguished themselves by their "intelligence and knowledge, or by eminent services in any of the principal branches of the administration, or the government of the state." No member of the Cortes can be at the same time a member of this council. Holding these principles in view, the Cortes make out a triple list of the different classes above named, and from these three lists the king nominates the council. It forms a body which, however, has no effective voice in public affairs. It is merely consultative, and may present its opinion to the king; but he is not bound to adopt it. If the Cortes then pre-

* Spanish Constitution, Chapter VII.

sented three lists, in which were nominated twelve Grandees of Spain, twelve ecclesiastics, and ninety-six individuals of the higher classes, who, according to the terms of the law, must be men of "known virtue, intelligence, information, and experience," how could it have been argued, with any pretension to candour, that Spain had no elements for a Chamber of Peers? January.

There were indeed many enlightened deputies, who wished to see such an institution in existence; but they conceived, that in order to concede something to that prejudice which seemed to be entertained amongst the people against the establishment of a formal House of Peers, the Council of State might, with a few alterations, be erected into a second Chamber. It might be increased to the number of eighty or a hundred, be invested with a deliberative voice, and still be elected by the Lower Chamber in the way laid down by the Constitution. The Council would then resemble the Senate of the United States, though not chosen in exactly the same manner. It would be a branch of the legislature elected upon a system analogous to that by which the Cortes themselves are formed. The citizens first meet in parishes, and elect what are called arbitrators, who assemble in the capital of the provinces, and elect a deputy or deputies to the Cortes, in proportion to the population which the province contains. It would be perfectly consonant with the analogies of this system, to empower the Cortes to choose a legislative body still higher than themselves, though, of course, they would not permit their own privilege of originating decrees for contributions to be interfered with. If the nation agreed to the change, it would be one of easy accomplishment, because no existing institution would have been destroyed, no violence would have been done to the Constitution; the machinery was already formed; the only thing required was to set it in motion. This was not un-

January. doubtedly such an alteration as the advocates for a House of Peers would deem effectual; but where there were such oppositions of interests and passions as existed upon this question of a second Chamber, it would perhaps have been as well that all parties should make concessions to a certain extent. It would hold out the promise of greater duration and utility, when it would have been the result of mutual compromise, rather than the prize of mutual hostility.

It was another and a very important question, how such a modification of the Constitution as this could be effected. The Constitution provides that the Cortes, which are to decreê a reform *definitively*, must be specially authorised by the electoral juntas for this purpose. But the existing Cortes, although they had no special powers of this description, might consider the expediency of any particular reform, and even draw up a project of the decree which would carry it into effect. Here their authority stops. They could not pass that project into a law until it was first submitted to the electoral juntas, agreed to by those bodies, and special powers given by them to their respective deputies to sanction it. It seems also to be the general interpretation, that the electoral juntas could not be legally convened for the exclusive purpose of granting these special powers. The Constitution supposes them to be capable of granting them only at the same time that they elect deputies for a new Cortes. With respect to the 375th article, which declares that no reform shall be made in the Constitution until eight years shall have elapsed after the time of its having been put in practice, there were various opinions. The Constitution was first promulgated at Cadiz in the year 1812, and remained in force until 1814, when Ferdinand returned and annihilated the whole system. In 1820 it was restored. Construing the article literally, one must see that it offers not even a technical objection against the proposition and enactment of

any reform, since more than eight years have elapsed after January.
it was proclaimed at Cadiz. This construction, however, may be said to be sophistical, as the spirit of the article indicates that the eight years must have witnessed the operation of the Constitution, in order to reveal its imperfections.

In addition to the institution of a Second Chamber, it was conceived also, that a free and unconditional voice in the legislature should be given to the king. Without such a faculty existing in the sovereign, it would be better to depose him at once and erect a republic; for he would feel that he had no real influence, and the monarchy would fall into a mere empty pageantry. If a king be necessary to a state, it follows that he must have power, and be, to the extent of that power, a free agent. To the Constitution it belongs to restrain his power within such bounds as may be most conducive to the public good; but whatever the measure of those bounds may be, no other branch of the system ought to interfere with it. If, besides these alterations, the ninety-second article of the Constitution were put into execution, and a fair proportion of property were fixed as a qualification for the deputies of the Lower Chamber, the basis of a free, and, at the same time, a practicable system, would be laid, which would extinguish all animosities, and ensure the welfare of the country.

These changes the British government wished, for many reasons, to see effected, or, at least, promised to be effected in the Spanish Constitution, as it would then be enabled to mediate for Spain with France with every hope of success. But it could not propose them to Spain; for then they would only be considered as demands in another shape, which would go directly in the face of all the principles maintained by England at the Congress of Verona. It was thought, however, that the Duke of Wellington, from his relations

January. with Spain as her deliverer, and from the high rank and extensive estates which he holds in that country, might, in the character of her friend and well wisher, offer suggestions for her consideration. In this private and individual capacity his Grace drew up a memorandum, in which he recommended in general terms that alterations should be made in the Spanish Constitution in concert with the king, and particularly pointed out the necessity of enlarging the powers of the crown. This memorandum was entrusted to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, his Grace's confidential friend. His lordship had been with the duke through the Peninsular war, and was acquainted personally with many distinguished Spaniards, whose co-operation he had every rational hope of obtaining.

His lordship agreed to undertake a journey to Madrid for this purpose, under the sanction of government; but he was instructed not to appear to be invested with any separate mission, which might detract in the eyes of the Spanish ministers from Sir William A'Court's official or personal authority. He was to consult that minister's wishes and opinions as to the occasions on which, and as to the persons with whom, he should enter upon the topics entrusted to his discretion, and to report to him his several conversations; not disguising from the individuals with whom those conversations were held, that he was to do so. His lordship was also desired carefully to avoid creating the impression that the suggestions which he had to offer from the Duke of Wellington, as the friend of Spain, were only propositions in another shape from the British government.

Sir Philip Roche had been already sent out with despatches to Madrid, and directed to remain there under the orders of Sir William A'Court. This meritorious officer commanded a division of Spaniards during the whole of the last war, and

in their service he holds the rank of a lieutenant-general. January.
In the British service he has the rank of a colonel. From his long residence, and his acquaintance with all the distinguished families in Spain, his knowledge of the people, their language and their habits, it was properly thought by Sir Henry Wellesley, who recommended him to Mr. Canning, that he might be of service to the mission.

CHAPTER XII.

ATTEMPT OF BESSIERES ON MADRID.—DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH MINISTER.

January 16th. It is not to be wondered at, if, within four or five days after the proud debates of Cortes on the foreign despatches, considerable surprise was created in Madrid by intelligence which was received, that a body of the "factious," amounting to about 3,000 men, made their appearance in Medina Celi, on the borders of the province of Guadalajara, and that it was their intention to attack the town of Guadalajara, the capital of the province, and not more than ten leagues from Madrid. It was added, that if they succeeded in this attempt, they would march on Madrid. It appeared that they had already made vain attempts upon Saragossa and Segovia; after which they moved to the south, with the view of making an incursion into Madrid, and, if possible, releasing the King from his captivity. The troops in Medina Celi levied contributions in money, provisions, and horses. They were under the command of Bessieres and Ulman. The former is a Frenchman, who, not many months ago, had been found guilty of forming part of a conspiracy at Barcelona, for the purpose of establishing a republic. He was ordered to be executed, and was actually on his way to the scaffold, when he was rescued by the mob. The first account that was heard of him after his escape was this of his appearance at the head of the "factious." Ulman is a Swede, who was employed, some years ago, by the Spanish government to extirpate the bands of robbers which infested the province of Estremadura. He accomplished his work with terrible

energy, giving them no quarter, allowing no trial, but hanging them on the most convenient tree as quickly as he could meet with them. January.

There is little doubt that the ministers were surprised by this near approach of the "factious" to Madrid; and it seems equally indubitable that at first they thought very lightly of it, feeling quite confident that one or two regiments of militia would entirely disperse them.

The militia of Madrid sent a flaming address to the Cortes, in which they requested that they should be allowed to march against the enemies of the Constitution. Even the short-hand writers to the journal of the Cortes demanded permission to exchange the pen for the sword on this occasion.

Upon further information being obtained, it was suspected, with some appearance of probability, that the movements of Bessieres were the result of a previous concert, which was no secret to many persons in Paris and in Madrid. It was moreover known, that the royalists, though indifferently clothed, were well armed; that they expected to get assistance from the towns through which they were to pass; and that one of their objects was to make an experiment on the constitutional spirit of the capital. Orders were accordingly given for preparing troops to march to Guadalajara, a considerable town, ten leagues from Madrid, but it was not until after the lapse of three or four days that they were sufficiently equipped for the purpose. There were, altogether, fifteen hundred infantry, two hundred cavalry, and four pieces of artillery. They marched out from Madrid in 20th.
different divisions. The greater part of them looked as if they would much rather lounge about the streets of the capital, than expose themselves to the shot of the enemy. They were followed by a group of some twenty boys, who shouted, and some young men in coloured clothes walked

January. arm and arm with the soldiers in the ranks, but there was a striking contrast between the alacrity of these youths and the downcast slovenly march of the military. They were accompanied beyond the gate by the Political Chief, Palarea; but, neither during their march through the streets, nor during any part of the day, could I perceive any think like a *sensation* excited amongst the inhabitants of Madrid. I heard now and then a reflection upon the unfortunate condition of the country, in which brother fought against brother, and friend against friend. With respect to the mass of the inhabitants, they seemed perfectly tranquil upon the matter. If this people were so proudly attached to the constitution as they were often represented to be, is it to be supposed that they would have remained so utterly indifferent, when the avowed enemies of that Constitution were at their doors?

A smart action had already taken place* between Bessieres and the Constitutional troops at Calatayud, but on the approach of Baron Carondolet with a large reinforcement, the royalist chieftain determined to make a retreat, which he effected with so much skill, and so little loss, that it was quite apparent he would be a formidable enemy to the Constitutionalists. Fifty-five prisoners, who were
22d. taken from him on this occasion, were marched into Madrid. They were many of them without shoes or stockings, or any other covering than a piece of coarse carpet, but most of them wore a close leather cap, with a border of fur. This seemed to be the only uniform they possessed. For my part, I never saw a collection of such wretched-looking beings before. I asked, "Were they taken with arms in their hands?" "No, they had no arms." "Why then were they taken?" "Because they are robbers." I

* 11th of January.

concluded that they must have been a set of wretches who followed the army of Bessieres, to profit by his advance in the way of depredation. As they passed through the streets to prison, a multitude of men, women, and children followed them, hooting and shouting, "The robbers! the thieves! kill them at once! away with them to prison!" Some would go up and ask them, "Well, gentlemen factious, how is your General? We suppose, in your hurry, you forgot to put on your stockings?" and other such language, which mobs are apt to use in the natural excitation of the moment. January.

I followed the crowd to the prison, and after the prisoners were lodged in custody, I requested permission to enter. The door was guarded by four sentinels, who all in a breath rudely told me I could not go in, and immediately they began a philippic against France, saying that there would be no factious in Spain but for the French, who encouraged, clothed, and paid them; and that no Frenchman ought to be suffered to stay in Madrid. I perceived that all this was directed at me, and I soon undeceived them, saying I was an Englishman, and not a Frenchman. They immediately grasped my hand one after another, and cried out to those within, "Let in an English gentleman, who wants to see the factious." The door flew open, and I found the unhappy prisoners seated on a damp floor in a dark room. Some were mere boys, and all seemed to have drained the chalice of misery to its dregs. When I came out, the sentinels again seized on my hand, and asked what I thought of the "factious." Without waiting for an answer, they began eulogizing England, saying that my country never disgraced itself by acting such an underhand part as France. I cut short their harangue by getting away from the crowd as quickly as I could.

January. Great efforts were made by the Communeros to take advantage of the existing state of affairs, in order to raise a clamour against the ministers, and get a cabinet nominated from their own party. In the council of state a proposition was made by Senor Ciscar (a man of considerable maritime experience), for presenting an address to the king, requesting his majesty to appoint a new ministry. He founded his reasons for the motion in the system of proscription, which he alleged the present ministers were pursuing against all those who did not approve of their conduct; in their neglect for having permitted so large a body of the factious to approach so near to the capital, and particularly in the late ruinous loan which they had contracted. He also made some pointed observations on the fact, which was generally admitted, that the ministers all belonged to a secret society, the freemasons, by which all their measures were regulated. After making a long and an animated discourse, he concluded with presenting to the council his address. The proposition was much applauded by other members of the council, but General Ballasteros said, that though he did not approve of the present ministers, he did not think that this was the time to address his Majesty for such an exercise of his prerogative. When the army of Bessieres should disappear, and things would return to a more stable course, then the council might discuss this subject with advantage. These reasons prevailed, and the proposition was suspended.

23d. In the meantime Bessieres concentrated at Brihuega all his force, consisting of two thousand five hundred infantry, and one hundred cavalry, of whom sixty were lancers. The Constitutional troops, to the number of three thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, were assembled at Guadalajara under the command of Demetrio O'Daly, the Commandant-General of the district, an

inexperienced officer, who, however, does not want personal bravery. Between three and four o'clock in the evening of the 24th, General O'Daly arrived in the neighbourhood of Brihuega with the troops under his orders, and he ordered them to advance in three different columns on the "factious," who were posted in the village and on the heights to the east of it. It was a displaced love of tactics which induced O'Daly to adopt this mode of attack; by three different columns, for, unless their movements were accomplished with precision and resolution, they were in danger of being beat in detail. A corps of raw militia of Bujalance advanced on the right of the road, with its commandant at its head, and a piece of artillery: the companies of Guadalajara, under the orders of their colonel, and a body of cacadores, advanced on the left of the road, supported by the cavalry of Alcantara; and on the road itself O'Daly remained with a column of infantry and cavalry, and three pieces of artillery. The column on the right was drawn down by a feigned retreat on the part of the royalists, near to the village of Brihuega, where they were suddenly charged by a body of lancers. The militia of Bujalance unused to this, or indeed to any mode of warfare, was panic struck, and yielded the ground to the enemy, after suffering losses in killed and wounded. This column was in full and confused retreat before O'Daly knew any thing about it; and, in point of fact, after it was defeated, the left column pushed forward. Bessieres being at liberty to use a superior force in that quarter, attacked it with a vigour which was not less animated on account of his previous victory. The militia of Guadalajara fled on the first fire, and in a very short time the whole of the left column was also in retreat. It was not possible for O'Daly to form anew, and he retired from the field, leaving behind two out of his four pieces of cannon.

January. 24th.

Whilst General O'Daly was retreating, he heard some

January. firing on his right, which appeared to have taken place in consequence of General Don Juan Martin, called the Empecinado *, meeting with the royalists. During the action which O'Daly sustained, he knew nothing of this General being so near. The Empecinado, with a considerable force, attacked Brihuega, but he was repulsed, and Bessieres, at night, remained in his position.

24th. On the same day that these unfortunate transactions took place at Brihuega, the militia, both cavalry and infantry, of Madrid, received orders to assemble in the Plaza de la Constitution at four o'clock. The government gave out that they had information that the Communeros had formed a conspiracy to raise a tumult in the capital, and to assassinate all the prisoners who were confined in consequence of the events of the 7th of July. I believe, however, that this was no more than a pretext, and that the real case of their fear was, that a conspiracy was on foot in the capital to raise an internal force to assist the operations of Bessieres. In the morning 600 stand of arms were discovered, all prepared for the immediate use of some secret party or other, and the probability was, that they were intended for the royalists in the capital. It was said also, that, during the previous three or four days, several stout young men, who had just come in from the country, were observed in different parts of Madrid. It was suspected they were connected with the plans of Bessieres.

In the evening, the militia, to the number of about three thousand infantry, and two hundred cavalry, were assembled in the Plaza. A great crowd of people filled the avenues, yet it was a striking feature of this scene that they seemed

* This is an epithet which this general obtained during the late war. It means literally covered with mud; for he was so active, that he never had time to wash himself. Having been a successful guerilla chief, he made it a name of honour.

to be mere spectators, who were totally unconcerned in the events which were in agitation. There was no very general alarm felt in the capital. The Puerta del Sol was filled with groups of people, who were anxiously inquiring from each other the rumours of the day. January.

At seven o'clock, the infantry militia were posted in several parts of the capital to preserve tranquillity, and the cavalry marched out to keep up a species of patrol without the gates, to the distance of a league and a half from Madrid, on all the great roads.

At night, a dead calm prevailed in every part of the capital. Here and there a militiaman was seen repairing to his post, and the tramping of cavalry was heard echoing through the silent streets. A few groups of inhabitants were seen assembled at their doors, speculating on the state of affairs. Some said that the work of treason was going on, that they could not trust each other, and that a number of "factious" was in the very heart of the capital.

On the 25th, Bessieres advanced on Guadalajara, of which town he took possession. His troops conducted themselves with good discipline, and the inhabitants willingly supplied them with provisions. In the meantime, General O'Daly was superseded in the command of the Constitutional troops by Count Abisbal (O'Donnel), who took measures on the 26th for approaching Guadalajara, that he might cause Bessieres to hasten his evacuation of the town. In effect Bessieres did evacuate Guadalajara on hearing of the approach of Abisbal; but from the circumstance of his troops taking different directions on quitting the town, it was suspected that he had a design of outflanking the Constitutionalists, and of penetrating to the capital, without encountering them. To prevent this, Abisbal fell back on Alcala, where he remained on the 27th. 25th. 26th.

The three days occupied by these different movements of

January. the contending forces were days of considerable agitation in Madrid. A double guard was placed on the palace, as it was well understood to be the principal object of the royalists to get the king into their power. The 26th (Sunday) was one of the usual days for the bull-fights, but, although it was a remarkably fine day, the amphitheatre was shut. The gate of Alcala was strongly guarded, and no one was allowed to pass through it without special passports.

During the greater part of the day a vast crowd of the lower order of the people was assembled at this gate, and all seemed to be waiting anxiously for tidings from the army. Every horseman or pedestrian who came in from the adjacent country was stopped and closely questioned about the news. The answers they received were generally very short and unsatisfactory. I walked about in this crowd, accompanied by a friend, to see if we could discover what was the general state of feeling in this important crisis, but we could perceive none of that enthusiastic patriotism so conspicuous a few days ago, when the foreign notes were published. We could observe nothing in their countenances and conversation but an intense curiosity to hear the news, and an indifference as to its character when it was unfavourable.

Towards night, it was pretty generally understood that a courier had arrived at the hotel of Count La Garde, with the answer of the French government to the reply which the Spanish cabinet gave to M. de Villele's note; and that in this paper M. la Garde was ordered to demand his passports, and leave Madrid as soon as possible, if the Spanish government seemed resolved to pay no attention to the new propositions which he was authorised to make.

These new propositions were contained in a second despatch, which Count la Garde was desired to read to the king. It stated that the Duke of Angouleme was upon the point of placing himself at the head of 100,000 men upon

the frontier: that if the King of Spain, released from his present thraldom, and placed at the head of his army, should be allowed to advance to the banks of the Bidassoa, in order to treat with him, a firm and durable peace might be established between the two countries, the ancient and intimate connexion between France and Spain be restored, and the fleets, armies, and resources of France be placed, from that moment, entirely at the disposal of his Catholic Majesty. France, it was added, did not pretend to dictate to Spain the precise modifications she ought to adopt in her constitution; but, in order not to expose herself to the charge of having intentionally left her wishes unexplained, she declared that she would not renew her relations of amity with that country, until a system was established, with the consent of, and in concert with, the king, assuring, alike the liberties of the nation and the just privileges of the monarch; and until a general act of amnesty was passed in favour of every individual persecuted for political offences, from the promulgation of the Constitution in 1812 down to the present period*. January.

On the 27th, the contents of this despatch were communicated by M. la Garde to M. San Miguel, who answered it with an indignant negative, and immediately transmitted to the minister the necessary passports. 27th.

In the course of the afternoon I walked down to the Cortes, under the expectation that some important discussion might arise; but I found the members engaged on the regulations for the militia. Not more than fifty members were present, and the galleries and tribunes were almost deserted. One member was speaking, but all the rest, except the President and Secretaries, were formed into groups of three and four on the benches, apparently consulting with each other,

* Sir William A'Court's despatch, January 27.

January. and engaged in earnest conversation, no attention whatever being paid to the deputy on his legs nor to the question under deliberation.

On returning home from the Cortes I found guards stationed in several of the streets, who were dispersing groups of people wherever they found them to exceed the number of three or four. A man having the appearance of a labourer started out from one of these groups, and dancing about, attempted to turn the guards into ridicule. A soldier immediately drew his sword, struck him with it, and in addition, took the man into custody. He was, however, better off than another man of a similar description, who got upon a heap of loose large stones, in the Plaza de la Constitution, and cried out in the presence of a large collection of people, "*Muera la Constitucion*"—"*Viva el Rey absoluto.*"—"Down with the Constitution—the absolute king for ever." Two or three soldiers set upon him instantly with drawn swords, and one of the weapons penetrated through his body. The unfortunate man, who seemed a little intoxicated, was carried away to the hospital, where he soon afterwards died.

During the day, several of the trades-people, and other classes of the inhabitants, enrolled themselves and obtained arms, chiefly with the view of maintaining tranquillity. Ballasteros was appointed Commandant-General of the military of Madrid, the Cortes having suspended the law which would have prevented that officer, as a counsellor of state, from being employed by government.

28th. There was much less bustle about the streets of Madrid on the 28th than on the two preceding days. The government issued an order dividing the capital into fifteen sections, with a view to its defence in case of attack. Officers were appointed to the command of these different sections; and, in case of alarm, all the generals in Madrid, not excepting Morillo, who had been hitherto under *surveillance*, were ordered

to assemble at the custom-house in the street of Alcala, where also the battalions of militia were to form *en masse*. January.

In the meantime these precautions were rendered unnecessary for the present, by the retreat of Bessieres towards Sacedon. If he had hoped to obtain assistance from the capital, or to create a rising in it by his approach, he was completely disappointed. There was a decided determination on the part of the militia, to resist any attempts he might make, even if he had defeated Abisbal.

Whatever may be the political or personal character of Bessieres, all the military men allowed him great credit for the brilliant march which he made almost to the gates of Madrid, and next, for the retreat which he accomplished. He levied contributions in money, provisions, linen, and cloth upon Guadalajara and Brihuega, and had with him two pieces of cannon, which he took from the Constitutional troops. It was said to be his intention to get into the mountains of Cuenca, unless Abisbal forced him to take a general action. This sudden appearance of Bessieres so near the capital, with so considerable a force, was altogether very mysterious. If the ministers knew of it before-hand, why were they not prepared for it? If they did not know of it before-hand, what was to be said of the constitutional devotion of the people through whose provinces he marched? Why did they not send information to the government of his movements?

Viewing this event in every way, it was impossible to avoid concluding that it was very prejudicial to the Constitutional cause. The militia were beaten, their cannon taken from them, and contributions were levied by the royalists within ten leagues of the capital. What would be the moral effect of these things throughout the country? The comuneros made as much of them as they could, in order to criminate the ministry. A great, indeed a violent, clamour

January. was raised against them, and it was generally supposed they should resign, for the constitutional doctrine required that the ministers must quit the cabinet whenever they lose their moral influence.

It is strange enough, that in all the changes of men who have grasped the helm of the state, or have taken part in public affairs during this revolution, not one individual of splendid talents has appeared. Mina is a veteran and a mere Guerilla chief: Riego is admitted on all hands to be a good, docile, sort of man, fortunate by chance in the Isla, but endowed with no talents, distinguished by no acquirements: Quiroga was almost fallen back to his original obscurity: and Ballasteros was never considered a man of ability, either in the council or the field, though the Communeros held him up as the most virtuous, as well as the most clever man in the Peninsula. Count Abisbal is unquestionably a brave and enterprising officer, but he laboured under the disadvantage of enjoying the confidence of no party. He was at this time indeed high in favour with the masons, but nobody could say how long he might remain so! There is a certain brusquerie about him which indicates talent, but betrays also that want of foresight and calculation, which, by enabling a man of ability to see and take advantage of auspicious circumstances, lift him above the rivalry of his contemporaries.

In a French suppressed pamphlet called "*De la Guerre avec l' Espagne*," I have read an anecdote about this general, which is rather curious, and, I believe, not very widely known. When the army, to the number of twenty-two thousand men, which was destined for the expedition to Buenos Ayres, was assembled in Andalusia, it was persuaded by the agents of liberty to resolve on declaring the Constitution. O'Donnel, who commanded them, was chosen to lead the enterprise. Naturally vain and am-

bitious, he thought the moment had arrived for the ac- January.
complishment of his designs. He listened to the overtures which were made to him; he entered into the views of those who marked him out for their chief; he traced the plan they were to follow, and fixed the day of its execution. Already in his delirium he believed himself on the way to the throne of Spain. One day, he assembled at his table the most distinguished officers of the conspiracy; in the heat of conversation, and in the midst of that enthusiasm which the project in hand had inspired, he asked them if they did not think that a crown would fit his head admirably well? An immediate silence, more expressive than words could be, was the only answer he received. The direction of his ideas changed after this, and with it his resolution to serve the Constitutional cause. Thus far the pamphlet; since these events, he had joined the party of the masons, and, though his vacillations were now and then talked of, his military enterprise and activity were acknowledged by all parties.

But there is, I am told, a man of the name of Sarsfield, who, though yet in the shade, promises to carry every thing before him if the revolution go on, and if fortune should so far favour him as to throw him into a situation where his talents may become known. He is said to be a person of extraordinary genius, though one would imagine that such praise ought not to be hazarded until the object of it has shown that it is not undeserved.

Whilst the capital was in a state of alarm, the Political Chief declined to viser any passports, in order that what was passing in Madrid should not be immediately known beyond it. In consequence of this, the French minister was detained two or three days beyond the time he had fixed for his departure. At length he was resolved to be trifled with no longer. He went to the office of the minister for foreign

January. affairs; when he arrived there, he found that San Miguel had been gone some time; but he did not hesitate in telling the clerks, who were still writing there, that the object of his visit was to inquire whether or not he was to consider himself a prisoner. He had had his passports for some days; but why was it that the Political Chief, up to that hour, had refused to viser them? He complained strongly of the manner in which he had been treated. Soon after he left the office, word was sent to him that his passports would be vised if he would transmit them to the Political Chief. They were accordingly signed in the regular manner, and
30th. Count la Garde quitted Madrid with the whole of the French legation.

The Pope's Nuncio had been already sent away from this Court, in consequence of the refusal, on the part of his Holiness, to receive Villaneuva, the new Spanish minister who was accredited to Rome. The only ministers remaining, therefore, were those of England, Portugal, the United States, the Low Countries, Saxony, and Denmark.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUED.—CONDUCT OF THE SPANISH MINISTERS AND DEPUTIES.—THE LANDABURIAN SOCIETY.—SPEECH OF THE KING OF FRANCE.—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—CONDUCT OF THE KING OF SPAIN.—EFFECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION.—PUBLIC JOURNALS.

In the mean time Lord Fitzroy Somerset, accompanied by his friend Lord Francis Levison Gower, had arrived in Madrid *. His lordship lost no time in communicating with his old acquaintances, several of whom he found, neither in the Cortes, nor in any situation of responsibility, but very ready to enter into conversation with him on the difficulties by which Spain was surrounded, and on the necessity of some modification being made in the Constitution. Some, indeed, were clamorous for such an amendment, and for the interference of Great Britain; but when asked how the first could be effected, or the latter made available to the exigencies of the moment, they were unable to furnish any satisfactory reply. January.

His lordship opened in a particular manner to General Alava the nature of the commission with which he was entrusted; and after impressing upon him that England demanded nothing of Spain, and that he suggested nothing officially, his lordship read the Duke of Wellington's memorandum. General Alava was a good deal startled at this communication, for which he professed himself wholly unprepared; and he at once declared his conviction, that he

* January 20th.

January. could not be instrumental in the attainment of the objects which that memorandum contemplated. He gave the British government full credit for the conduct they had pursued at the Congress of Verona. He was deeply sensible of the value of the Duke of Wellington's exertions on that occasion, and of his constant solicitude to promote the happiness and secure the independence of Spain; but in the present situation of the country he could not conceal the difficulty of prevailing upon any party to act upon the suggestions which were thrown out. He, however, acknowledged the defects of the Constitution, and admitted the propriety of taking into consideration the expediency of modifying it hereafter, when such a proceeding should not be illegal. He felt the imminence of the danger to which the country was exposed, and that war was the inevitable consequence of a refusal to modify the Constitution. Such a measure being out of the question, the Spanish government had, in his opinion, nothing to do, but to await the evil which it could not avert. His lordship, however, prevailed on the general, as an act of personal kindness to himself, and of duty to the country, to mention to some of the deputies of Cortes the nature of the commission with which he was charged *.

Whilst these things were going on at Madrid, the French government were doing all in their power to persuade the British ambassador at Paris, and through him the British government, that notwithstanding all the preparations that had been made for war, they were still anxious to avoid that extreme if possible. * M. de Chateaubriand told Sir Charles Stuart, that the king was compelled to assume a decisive tone in his discourse to the legislature; and that in announcing the cessation of the diplomatic relations between the two governments, it was necessary to show that they

* Lord Fitzroy Somerset's despatch, January 25th.

could not be re-established until the origin of the mischief, January.
with which the Spanish revolution menaced neighbouring countries, had been removed. This could only be done by Spain assimilating her institutions to those of other limited monarchies, under an act on the part of the King of Spain declaring the Constitution to emanate from the crown *. M. de Chateaubriand expressed his hope that these sentiments would be conveyed through Sir William A'Court to the ministers of Spain, and that he would impress upon them the expediency of not refusing to admit the only measure of which it was possible, in the present situation of things, to take advantage.

On the same day † that M. de Chateaubriand made use of this language, it was repeated in the speech of the King of France on the opening of the Chambers. His majesty said, that he had ordered the recall of his minister from Madrid, and that one hundred thousand French would enter Spain to enable Ferdinand VII. to give his people institutions "which they cannot hold but from him." Notwithstanding this decided declaration in one part of the discourse, there was in another part of it an insinuation that war was not inevitable, an insinuation so evidently at variance with the announcements previously made, that it would seem to have been thrown in for the purpose of inducing the British government to believe that the efforts in which they were engaged for the maintenance of peace might not be fruitless. M. de Villele, indeed, endeavoured to convince Sir Charles Stuart that the violent alternative to which the king referred, was mentioned in a "conditional sense;" and notwithstanding the strong evidence of preparations for hostilities, both this minister and his colleague, M. de Chateaubriand, answered the representations of the ambassador

* Sir Charles Stuart's despatch, January 28. † January 28.

January. by assurances that they yet continued to entertain hopes of peace.

I confess I am at a loss to reconcile these assurances of the French ministers, not only with the king's discourse, but with the tenour of that despatch which they had already transmitted to Count La Garde, for the purpose of being read by him in the first instance to his Catholic majesty, and then communicated to M. San Miguel *. In that despatch propositions were made, though in a vague manner, which M. de Chateaubriand well knew never would be accepted by the Spanish government; and yet as the alternative of their non-acceptance, it was declared that the Duke of Angouleme was about to march into Spain at the front of a hundred thousand men. No,—the French government had no hope, and indeed I may add, no wish, that the efforts of England should succeed. It was their object from the beginning to dissolve the Spanish Constitution, to obtain for the king more power, that he might use it hereafter in such a manner as to give France a permanent interest in Spain, and promote their joint views upon the South American states. Hence the offer on the part of France of placing her "fleets, armies, and resources at the disposal of his Catholic Majesty."

February. Mr. Canning was not deceived by these assurances on the part of France. He received the construction put upon the king's speech with a hesitation, which shows he did not believe it to be true; but, at the same time, he was bound in courtesy to hear it, and he was resolved not to shut the door of conciliation, which the French minister said was still open. But as for the principle, that the Spaniards could hold their institutions only from their sovereign, Mr. Canning at once declared that the Spanish nation could not be

* See pages 184, 185.

expected to subscribe to it, nor could any British statesman February. uphold or defend it *. An explanation was demanded on this point before Mr. Canning would proceed further; and M. de Chateaubriand gave a softened version to the words, which they were hardly originally intended to convey, viz. "that in order to give stability to any modification of the present system in Spain, and to afford sufficient assurances to France to justify her discontinuing her warlike preparations, the King of Spain must be a party, and consent to such modification †."

This explanation, however, was not given until after the opening of parliament, when an unequivocal disclosure was made of the unanimity prevailing between all the members of his majesty's government and the whole people of England, upon the injustice of the war which France was about to commence. That disclosure of opinion evidently produced a strong impression on the French government, for they soon after stated with clearness the abated expectations with which they would be satisfied. They said, that if through the intervention of Great Britain an offer were made from Spain for the establishment of a Second Chamber, they would consider it as affording reasonable grounds for suspending their armaments, and replacing the relations between the two countries upon the footing usual in time of peace. By the establishment of a Second Chamber, was meant the erection of the Council of State into a deliberative body, upon the principle of the American Senate; the nomination of the counsellors being vested in the king, as already provided by the Constitution, on the presentation of the Cortes ‡.

Had the Spanish ministry adopted the Duke of Welling-

* Mr. Canning's despatch to Sir Charles Stuart, February 3.

† Sir Charles Stuart's despatch, February 10.

‡ Ibid.

February. ton's advice, there was therefore every reason to hope that they would have saved their country from a disastrous war, and have secured to it a free and practicable Constitution. But they had been hitherto, in most cases, actuated in their negotiations with England by principles of reserve and cunning, keeping themselves undecided, waiting to see what events might turn up, and to take advantage of them, in order to retrace any steps which they might have dubiously taken. The misfortune for their views was, that there was scarcely any thing within the sphere of probability, which could turn out to their advantage to such an extent as would render them complete masters of the field. Thus, however, they went on day after day, deceiving themselves and every body besides, resorting to all sorts of exaggerations to keep up the show of a great and heroic nation, and instead of improving the condition of their country, preparing only the certainty of its ruin.

It was understood that there were many of the deputies who were disposed to agree to some alteration, but there was a difference amongst them as to the extent, and none of them were willing to risk their lives in bringing forward a proposition in open Cortes with the view of placing this question before the nation. Fears were entertained of the secret dagger of the Communeros on one hand, and of the exalted members in the Cortes on the other. All parties were distrustful of each other, and the probability was, that all would remain inactive upon this subject until the time for making terms should have passed away. The fear of secret daggers was little less than imaginary. The only thing which the moderate deputies wanted in such a crisis was a little civil courage. If they had once come forward, they would have probably found numerous supporters, not only in the country, the Cortes, and the Council of State, but even in quarters where they least expected to meet them. There was not a sensible man in Madrid who heard of the suggestio

of Great Britain—if they were indeed entitled to that appel- February.
lation—who did not privately confess his wishes that they were adopted. But still so unnecessarily apprehensive were they of "the nation," that in public they either maintained a dark silence on the subject, or, forgetting the perils to which the Constitution was exposed in their irresistible passion of national boasting, they gave it a direct negative. Was this not a pitiable situation for a fine country to be placed in? Imaginary difficulties surmounted the sense of real and palpable dangers. An empty and transitory pride bade them shut their eyes upon the opportunity which now lay before them, of placing their liberties and their national prosperity upon a solid basis: and closed those eyes were likely to remain, until they opened upon the wreck of their Constitution.

It was almost ludicrous to hear the way in which the Spaniards treated their situation at this time. We shall not agree, they pretended to say, to any alteration of our Constitution.—Very well, it was replied to them, but the French troops will come to Madrid, and establish the French Charter.—It remains to be seen whether the French will come to Madrid. What is to prevent them?—We will resist them. Where are your armies?—They are forming every day; there are conscriptions going on all over the country. But how will you arm, and clothe, and support these men; where is your money?—It is of no consequence whether we have money or not, our soldiers can live upon garlick; as for clothing, they can fight without uniforms; and with respect to arms, there is a great number in the country since the last war. Well, but how can you expect that these recruits fresh from the mattock, the plough, and the office of muleteer, will be able to stand against a regular army?—That is of no consequence, we will fight in guerilla

February. parties, and we depend on the obstinate and proud character of the people.

There was no arguing with these philosophers. If Spain was to carry on a war in such a manner as no one country ever yet sustained a war against another, it was all very well. It is right, however, to add that there were many persons of opinion that no resistance of any value would be made against the French, and that they would march with as much facility to Madrid as the Austrians did to Naples.

3d. The capital continued in a state of undisturbed peace. Although there was a desperate struggle going on between the Masons and the Communeros for the government, yet its effects were scarcely perceptible, nor perhaps of much interest, to the mass of the inhabitants. The tribune of the Landaburian Society was occupied, night after night, by crowds of new orators, whose discourses had for their object to call the attention of the people to the dangers which threatened the country. Some spoke of the French invasion as an event just at hand, and others insisted that the ministry had proved their inability to carry the country through its approaching difficulties by evincing that criminal negligence, or ignorance, in consequence of which the capital was placed in a state of alarm from the neighbourhood of an armed band of factious. Violent attacks were also made on those public prints which censured the speeches of the Landaburian orators. It was evident that the government was extremely sensible to the philippics which were directed against them. For some days the ministerial prints had been calling on the authorities to interfere, and put a stop to the nightly scenes of turbulence which the society exhibited.

The authorities at length resorted to a subterfuge in order to accomplish this object. They got an architect to report that the convent of St. Thomas, in which the Society

held its sittings, was in so ruinous a state that it would be dangerous for any person to enter it. The doors were accordingly nailed up, and guards were stationed to prevent their being broken open. The fact was, that there was not a more firm or durable building in Madrid. Here was a curious specimen of the character of the Spanish government, and of a consciousness of its own weakness. The most manly proceeding would have been to have gone at once to the Cortes, and to have demanded the suspension of the law which sanctioned the Society. But this was too open a measure, and they preferred to adopt the pretext that the edifice was about to tumble to the ground. No person, however, who was a friend to the peace of the capital, and to the liberty of Spain, could regret that the mouths of the Landaburian orators were closed. They were becoming the channels of the grossest misrepresentations, and though they delivered a few home truths, the evil effects of their eloquence more than counterbalanced any slight amelioration which it might have produced. February.

Upon the arrival in Madrid of the speech of the King of France, that part of it which announced that to Ferdinand alone belonged the right of giving institutions to Spain excited very angry feelings. As matters had already stood, there were many Spaniards who were prepared to receive the French as the enemies of violent democratical principles, but few of these very persons were at the same time inclined to say that Spain was the patrimony of Ferdinand VII. The opposition which the Spanish Constitution experienced in all parts of the Peninsula arose not from any particular attachment to the king. It proceeded from the injuries inflicted on various interests, particularly those of the church and the nobility, by the decrees of the first, and especially of the second Cortes. Those who are acquainted with the habits and sentiments of the people in the provinces, agree 3d.

February. in stating that they are essentially democratic in practice, and receive their form and colour simply from that personal pride which distinguishes every Spaniard, however uneasy his circumstances may be. The despotism of the king was formerly tolerated because it abstained from wounding personal feelings. The Constitution found amongst its most unrelenting enemies, those whose feelings were aggrieved in a thousand different ways by the changes which it ordained. It was even a matter of serious doubt whether the present king was popular with any one class in the state. His personal character was generally represented to be of an unamiable turn. Buonaparte said that the two most deceitful men he met in all his experience, were Alexander and Ferdinand VII. and he is allowed to have had a quick perception of human character. Instances have been known where Ferdinand smoked segars, and carried on the most familiar conversation with a minister, to whom in two hours after he sent an order of banishment. It was said also, that his conduct to the Queen was not of the most engaging description; and as her Majesty was an universal favourite, it may be inferred that he had few champions wherever the ladies exercised any influence; and in Spain that influence recognizes no limits. It was betraying a great ignorance of the state of feeling in Madrid especially, to mention one word about Ferdinand, still more to designate him as the grandson of Henry IV. This had a bad effect amongst the Afrancesados, who are at the core Buonapartists, and amongst the Spaniards it only recalled the memory of the comparatively recent transplantation of a branch of the Bourbon family to Spain.

Neither of the king's brothers possessed, or was likely soon to recover, that popularity of which a limited monarchy stands so much in need. There was, therefore, no chivalry like that which roused the spirit of a La Roche Jaqueline, and armed the peasantry of La Vendée, to be appealed to in the

Peninsula. National independence is the first device of a Spaniard, his next is an overweening opinion of his own rank, to which he imagines all the world should succumb; and now that he had been instructed for two years and more to believe that the sovereignty of the realm resides essentially in the mass of the nation, whatever he might think of other parts of the Constitution, this was a principle which he would not easily surrender. It was unwise also in the advisers of the King of France to put forward the connexion of the two thrones in such a prominent manner in the speech, because it afforded more than sufficient data to those republican spirits who would endeavour to represent this as nothing more or less than another family war. What a field did it not open for the declamations of those who, passing over the advantages of monarchy, wished to paint the disasters which monarchs have inflicted upon the human race in order to bring about or sustain their personal aggrandizement? February.

In order to prevent the adoption of any violent measures, in consequence of the arrival of the speech of the King of France, Sir William A'Court hastened to communicate to M. San Miguel the contents of a despatch* which he had just received from Sir Charles Stuart, stating the views which the French ministers entertained that peace might be still preserved through the exertions of England, and by concessions on the part of Spain. After the whole was read to M. San Miguel, he broke out into exclamations against the general conduct of the French government, and expressed his conviction that a war was now inevitable. He said that Spain would never admit that the Constitution emanated from the king, nor recognize any other sovereignty than that of the people: that she was prepared to repel force by force, and that France would find the war a much 4th.

* Sir Charles Stuart's despatch of January 28th, already referred to.

February. more serious undertaking than she seemed to imagine it would be*.

In the speech of the King of France there was an evident acknowledgment of an intention to establish a permanent French interest in Spain. This point M. San Miguel put very prominently forward in a subsequent conversation which he held with Sir William A'Court. At the same time he observed with respect to modifications, that there was neither a man nor a party in Spain (were the ministry to be changed a hundred times) who would venture to propose their adoption, till the time pointed out by the Constitution, and that had any hopes been held out to him (Sir William A'Court) of an opposite nature, he might depend upon it they never would be realized. Yet M. San Miguel added, that he did not consider all hope of negotiation at an end; but still relied for a successful issue from the present difficulties upon the friendship and offices of England. He was convinced that she might and that she would prevent a war†.

From other quarters it was insinuated that since the accession of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, she had been, with very little interruption, in a state of vassalage, to the Court of the Thuilleries. There was scarcely any article of foreign manufacture of which Spain stood in need, which she was not obliged to take from France, and in return France drew from the Peninsula hard dollars, to the average amount of about thirty millions yearly. While the ports of Spain had been shut against the cloths, the cottons, and linens, of Great Britain and Ireland, there was a free passage for the products of France in these articles over the Pyrenees and from the port of Marseilles. It was insisted that now was the time to emancipate Spain from French

* Sir William A'Court's despatch, February 4.

† Sir William A'Court's despatch, February 7.

thraldom; that there never was so favourable a moment for effecting this object; and if it were lost, such an occasion never might present itself again. If the French succeeded in substituting their Charter for the Constitution of Spain, they would subject the Peninsula more rigorously than ever to their political and commercial influence. It was added that England, by stepping forward in the present crisis, might transfer to her merchants the yearly receipt of those thirty millions of dollars, which went to France, or might take in exchange, upon terms still more advantageous, the wines, the fruits, and wools of the Peninsula. February.

To all this, it was answered, that England had done, and would do every thing in her power, short of involving herself in the quarrel, to prevent matters from coming to extremities; but that it was sufficiently evident that war was inevitable, if Spain were really determined to admit of no modification in her Constitutional system. England did not demand this, nor would the refusal of it prevent her endeavouring to avert the war by every means in her power; but it was in vain to hope she could succeed unless the prospect of some concession were held out on the part of Spain.

In the meantime the government gave some indications of preparing for war. Morillo was appointed to command the army in Gallicia; Ballasteros, in Aragon and Navarre; Mina to continue in Catalonia, and Abisbal to command the corps of reserve in Madrid, and the neighbouring provinces. In point of fact, no armies as yet existed to be commanded, except from fifteen to twenty thousand men in Catalonia, and four or five thousand in and near the capital. The government hoped, probably, that Ballasteros would be able to raise troops in his district, and that Morillo would be equally successful in Gallicia. For these purposes it was judged, that funds were necessary; and in order to supply them, the Finance minister went down to Cortes, and proposed that the principal of those resources which had been

February. solemnly assigned to the Junta of Public Credit for the payment of the national debt, contracted anterior to the restoration of the Constitution, should in effect be placed at the disposal of the government.

This project the Cortes refused to sanction, and in lieu of it, they authorized the government to receive the contributions in advance of the three remaining quarters of the current financial year. They also authorized the government to receive arrears of contributions in corn, rice, oil, and such useful stores as the revenue debtor might possess.

Amongst other measures resolved on by the ministers, was the removal of the King and royal family, the government and Cortes, from Madrid to Seville. When this measure was first mentioned to his majesty, he positively declared he would never agree to it. He made several observations upon the inconvenience which the projected journey would give rise to, and discouraged it by every means in his power.

If the king bestowed any reflection on the present situation of the monarchy, he might well take blame to himself for the very embarrassing situation to which it was now reduced. Had his majesty, upon his return to Spain in 1814, suggested such alterations in the Constitution which was then presented to him for acceptance as would have assimilated it to that of Great Britain, Spain would have been by this time comparatively prosperous and tranquil. In wholly abrogating that Constitution, and assuming to himself despotic rule, he committed a crime for which it never will be in his power to atone; and brought misfortunes upon his people, which a long life of beneficence and wisdom would not be able sufficiently to repair.

It may not be improper in this place to state an historical fact connected with Ferdinand's restoration, which, in all the accounts of that period, has been strangely misrepresented. Sir Henry Wellesley, who was at that time our ambassador

to the Regency, went to Valencia to meet the king on his return. It has been said that Sir Henry took that journey in order to prevail on the king to annul the Constitution, and that he supplied his majesty with the funds, and even the bayonets, necessary to carry that project into effect. There were at that time two divisions of Spaniards in British pay:—one commanded by General Sir Samuel Whittingham, the other by General Sir Philip Roche. The former was stationed in the neighbourhood of Saragossa, and the latter was blockading Saguntum, within about four leagues of Valencia, and at that time in the occupation of a French garrison, commanded by General Rouelle. Upon the arrival of the king at Valencia, he was influenced by the famous address of the seventy-two deputies, as well as by the reports of several ecclesiastical dignitaries and noblemen who had crowded around him—or rather, indeed, he affected to be influenced by them, for he had taken his resolution on entering the Peninsula—and he expressed his determination to dissolve the Cortes. This, however, was not to be done without the aid of the military, and accordingly some of the king's confidential agents opened the matter to General Whittingham, and soon prevailed on him to march on Guadalajara. When a similar application was made to General Roche, he communicated it to Sir Henry, without whose orders he said he would not stir. Sir Henry thanked him for the communication and approved of his resolution. From these circumstances it is evident that Sir Henry Wellesley did not sanction the movement of the troops on Madrid. With respect to the funds which it is said he supplied to the king, it is true that Sir Henry Wellesley furnished him with four thousand dollars for the decent support of his table whilst at Valencia; but this was the total of his accommodation—a sum which, even if not applied to the expenses of the king, could have had very little influence on

February.

February. the subversion of the Constitution. Independent of this negative evidence, which I have received from a competent and respectable authority, it has since been declared by the Earl of Liverpool, in his place in the House of Lords, that Sir Henry Wellesley advised the king to modify, but not to abrogate the Constitution.

It may be doubted whether his Catholic majesty caused greater injury to his subjects by totally annulling the Constitution upon his return in 1814, than he did by accepting it in its objectionable and impracticable form in 1820. Too violent at the former period, and too timorous at the latter, he might, under the guidance of firm counsel, have resolved in either case upon a modified system, which would have conferred freedom and peace upon his people. At the same time it may not be denied that the Constitution, such as it was, touched the slumbering intellect of the nation, and awakened it to new life and exertion.

The chief evidence of the expansion of mind which had already taken place appeared in the number of political pamphlets which issued every week from the press. Some of these were written with eloquence, irony, and humour, which would not have disgraced the best age of Spanish literature. Several translations of English and French political works were also published in Madrid in a small cheap form, and a considerable number of new periodical journals was established.

Before the restoration of the Constitution there were only two newspapers in the capital, if indeed that which was called the "Diary of Madrid" deserved to be ranked in the number. It was confined to the publication of government and ecclesiastical ordinances, and of advertisements. It was very small, badly printed, yet from its advertisements it had a certain sale of about two thousand numbers daily. Like all the journals of Spain, it was unstamped.

The other paper was the "Gazette of Madrid," which was supported and paid by government as the official paper. After the re-establishment of the Constitution it was still carried on upon the same system, and was printed at the magnificent establishment, called the National Printing-office. The business of the Gazette was conducted by eight gentlemen, nominated by government. The principal editor was Don Eugenio Tapia, who has written several works in verse and prose. This paper was chiefly made up of translations from the foreign journals, of official documents, and original articles on matters of general policy. It never touched on party questions; and as its daily sale fluctuated between eighteen hundred and two thousand, it must have been an expensive concern to the government. February.

Within the last two years several new journals appeared and disappeared in Madrid. Those which survived were the "Universal," the "Espectador," (or Spectator), and one or two others, which I shall name presently. The "Universal" was ministerial ever since its establishment. Its proprietor was a printer, and its principal editor a literary gentleman of the name of Narganes, who was editor of the Madrid Gazette when Madrid was in possession of the French. He had several colleagues, who were mostly dependents of government. Articles of French intelligence, and dissertations on financial measures, were supplied by members of that party called the Afrancesados, a designation existing since the intrusion of Joseph Buonaparte, and applied to those persons who supported his regime. They were supposed to monopolize amongst themselves the greatest portion of the political talent in Spain, and their chief device was hatred to the throne of the Bourbons. In general, the style of the leading articles in the "Universal" was correct and flowing; but in leaning towards the ministry, it affected also to support the cause

February. of the moderates. It was the organ of the late ministers until the events of the 7th of July; and though it was not so much in the confidence of M. San Miguel as the "Espectador," yet it sometimes received official information on the same day as that journal. There were periods, during the ministry of Martinez de la Rosa, when the daily sale of the "Universal" exceeded seven thousand; latterly its regular number was something less than half of that amount.

The principal official journal was the "Espectador," which was so intimately connected with the government, that despatches, which were received late at night, were sometimes forwarded to the editor before they were known to all the ministers. It was the organ of the Freemasons, and the declared foe of the Communeros. I have already stated that San Miguel was, before his elevation to office, its principal editor. He still frequently contributed to it; and his articles were easily distinguished by their clear and authoritative views, the result of that extensive and correct information with which his official situation supplied him. With the exception of his articles, the style of the original writings in the "Espectador" was generally feeble, heavy, and confused. Its editors were Senor Infantes, a deputy of Cortes, a gentleman of the name of Garcia, who was employed in the war-office, and a comedian of the name of Salis. Its daily number was about five thousand.

A small journal, called the "Indicador," was at its commencement confined to theatrical and fashionable intelligence, pieces of fugitive poetry, and light essays on literature. But for the last six or eight months politics so engrossed public attention, that no other topic excited the least interest. The "Indicador," in consequence, was obliged to turn politician, but still it affected to treat the greatest subjects in a light, satirical manner. This, however, under the circumstances of the epoch, met with little encouragement; and this

journal was almost extinct when the establishment of the Landaburian society afforded it a new field, by publishing the debates of that club: The society at length became Ultra-Constitutional, andt urned upon that ministry and party which gave it birth. Its debates were offensive to the government, and every effort was used to prevent the "Indicador" from inserting them. The "Indicador" had increased its sale by this tack, and would not desist; but at last the hostility of government acted upon that increase, from the perseverance with which all their dependants denounced those who subscribed to the paper, and the proprietors were glad to accept the offer of the Society of Communeros for printing the "Patriota Espanol" instead of the "Indicador." So far as this journal proceeded, it appeared to be directed by principles of determined opposition to the existing ministry. It retained about five hundred of the subscribers to the "Indicador," and had a considerable accession from the Association of the Communeros, whose organ it was. The leading articles were written with force, clearness, and sometimes with elegance: it had connexions in the Council of State; but from its hostility to the Ministry, it laboured under the disadvantage of publishing important intelligence at second hand. It lived consequently but a short time. February.

The "Zurriago," or "Scourge," was a small-sized pamphlet, published every week or ten days, as it suited the convenience of the editors, Mexia and Morales. It was written with peculiar acrimony, powerful irony, and frequently attacked the royal family, the ministry, and the moderate party in violent and personal terms. Its ordinary number was about five thousand. Upon some occasions it sold fourteen thousand, but its fame was every day declining.

There was a small evening paper published four times a

February. week called the "Telegrafo" the price of which was one halfpenny. It was printed on common ballad paper, and gave the summary of the national and foreign intelligence, which arrived by the post in the morning.

There was also a journal printed in Madrid, in French, called "L'Observateur Espagnole," which was paid by San Miguel, and conducted by M. Vordet, formerly editor of the "Aristarque de Paris." This paper had very few subscribers. The government sent almost all the copies to France; its articles were confined to eulogies on the Spanish government, and attacks on that of France.

Of provincial journals there were many, but few possessed a certain existence. The only one of any reputation was the "Liberal Guipuscoano," which was published at St. Sebastian's.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CARNIVAL.—AN EXCURSION TO GUADALAJARA.

LITTLE would any person who had seen the streets of Madrid during the Carnival * imagine that at this period Spain was harassed by internal factions, threatened with a foreign invasion, and reduced almost to the verge of national bankruptcy. The jubilee of this festive season is displayed chiefly in the number, diversity, and gaiety of the masques, which animate the principal streets. About noon they begin to make their appearance, traversing the streets in groups, and between four o'clock and half-past five, they all meet in the Prado, which is crowded with visitors, and they perform such antics as are suitable to the characters which they represent. On the first day there was a slight sprinkling of these masques on the Prado. The most amusing fellow amongst them was a shoemaker, who carried a rule of an immense size; with this machine in his hand, he claimed the privilege of approaching the handsomest ladies in the Prado, in order to measure their feet. They complied with the operation, particularly those who had delicately shaped feet to display, with the utmost good nature. A number of women, who were collected in the middle of the street of Alcala, raised an incessant shout of laughter, mingled with attempts at singing, while they tossed a stuffed figure of Sancho in a blanket. The representation of this faithful follower of Don Quixote, when whirled aloft in the air, excited irrepressible mirth, and the shout was doubled when, by the

February.

* Sunday 9th, Monday 10th, and Tuesday 11th of February.

February. awkwardness of the women in tossing the figure, it fell upon some of the by-standers. No man was permitted to assist them in this operation, as time out of mind it belongs exclusively to the other sex. It is impossible to give an idea of the enjoyment which poor Sancho created. It was a scene of downright fun, shout after shout, talk, laughter, song, such as the weeping philosopher himself could not resist, had he witnessed it.

At night there was a masquerade at the Teatro del Principe, and so great was the demand for admission, that at half-past ten, when the doors were opened, not a ticket was to be had, except from the retailers—persons who buy up a number of tickets in the morning at the common price, one dollar each, and at night sell them for two, and sometimes even three dollars. It was calculated that at least eighteen hundred persons were present, and of these, perhaps, not more than fifty were without masks. There is this difference between a Spanish and an English masquerade, that, at the latter, scarcely any person is seen dressed in character, who does not at the same time attempt some exhibition in which that character is developed. A hermit assumes the language of the cell, a doctor offers his prescriptions, and a poet pesters every body with his rhymes. But at a Spanish masquerade the character reaches no farther than the dress, and, under different disguises, all meet for one purpose, that of spending the whole night till morning dawns in dancing. Indeed, it can scarcely be said that, in the generality of the dresses, any character is intended to be represented. The object seems to be to effect the most complete concealment by the comic aspect of the masks, and by dresses which have little relation to their features. The voice too is disguised, and there is kept up a constant din of feigned tones and squeaking salutations. The dances follow each other in the order of country-dances, rigodoons, and waltzes; and as this

is an amusement to which the Spaniards are passionately at- February.
tached, one may imagine the spirit with which it was maintained till a late hour the following morning. Several persons of distinction were present, who, under cover of their masks, mingled without fear of discovery in the joyous scene, and frequently danced, for aught they knew, in the same circle with their wives and husbands, though perhaps not exactly intending such a rencontre.

It is impossible to avoid praising the urbanity and decency which presided over the amusements of the night. Not the slightest incident occurred to disturb the harmony of the meeting, crowded as it was. An excellent band occupied the orchestra, and the different successions of the dances were arranged by two or three officers, whose dictates were instantly obeyed, as law, by every part of the company. There were guards of soldiers in attendance; but, from the great order which prevailed, their presence seemed almost unnecessary. In the coffee-room refreshments were served at a moderate price.

The number of masks on the Prado on the second day (Monday) was very considerable. In the evening several ladies and gentlemen attended Lady A'Court's tertulia in fancy dresses. The young Marquis of Santa Cruz appeared very elegantly dressed as a Moorish prince. The naturally dark Spanish countenance becomes this dress exceedingly. His mother, the marchioness, who is yet in the prime of life, and who, before her marriage, was considered the most beautiful woman in Spain, was arrayed in a vest and turban of silver tissue, which set off her person to great advantage. The young Marchioness of Alcanisas presented herself in the ancient dress of Andalusia, which, without being costly, is extremely beautiful. Her two younger sisters appeared also in provincial dresses, which became them remarkably well, particularly that of the youngest,

February. who was dressed as a Mallorcine, or native of Majorca. The Duchess of Frias was attired as Cleopatra, with a long flowing white veil, her bosom starred with diamonds. Several others of the company were fancifully arrayed; amongst the ornaments were a profusion of diamonds, and elegantly wrought gold and silver crosses, the favorite decorations in all Catholic countries. Lord Francis L. Gower looked to great advantage in his splendid full dress uniform as a cornet of the guards. Lady A'Court, who was attired in a rich lace dress, presided with her usual dignity over this animated and elegant scene. The company began to pour in at ten o'clock. Soon after that hour the rooms were crowded, and dancing commenced. It was an extremely interesting sight to view the various Spanish provincial dresses, set off by so many fine forms, mingling together on this gay occasion. The Spaniards seemed to enjoy it much, and to the foreigners who were present it was productive of equal delight. The company did not separate till a late hour the following morning.

On the third and last day of the Carnival (Shrove Tuesday), "all the world and his wife," to use a Spanish saying, were out. There were at least a thousand persons of both sexes, young and old, masqued, who traversed the Prado in groups; a task which they would have found difficult enough, on account of the vast crowd which attended, if every disposition had not been shown to accommodate them. One of the first groups which appeared was headed by a watchman, who held before him an old iron lantern. Some of this group were dressed in a very fantastic manner. Another group was headed by a musician, who played on a broken old guitar with one string. In another quarter were seen Don Quixote and his man Sancho. One mask excited great amusement, who had a stuffed figure so attached to him that he appeared to be riding upon a man's back. In the con-

ception of these and innumerable other masks, a great deal February.
of the spirit of broad comedy prevailed. But a group of five masks, one of whom was seated on an ass, his face turned towards the animal's tail, afforded the greatest amusement of all. By an inscription which appeared on his hat, it appeared that he was intended to represent a "Diplomatist of Verona." He held in his hand some sheets of blank paper, and he observed a most important silence. On his right hand he was attended by a mask, the representative of the Regency of Urgel; and on his left the Russian and Prussian ambassadors. The King of France was stationed at the ass's tail. They were received with shouts of laughter wherever they appeared. An old clothes man, with a bag on his shoulder, and hat of rush matting, with a leaf a yard wide, presented also a droll appearance. From the Prado he pursued his way into the streets, stopped before the balconies where he saw any ladies, viewed them for awhile through his immense tin eye-glass, and then ran off to another part of the street. A mask with the face behind, giving the idea of a man walking backwards, shook all the sides of all the old women with laughter. Some grave masks appeared on horseback; others in caleches, giving curious ideas of contrasts; and, in fact, all Madrid seemed to have taken leave of their senses on this occasion. It was observable, however, that, in all this crowded scene, not the slightest disturbance occurred, no altercation of any sort, no picking of pockets (as would have happened in London if such a scene were exhibited there), and, above all, not the least approach to indecorum was to be discovered. Every body appeared to be actuated by an innocent spirit of mirth, and, immense as the crowd was, the police deemed it unnecessary to take the least precaution for securing public order. The weather was delightfully fine.

At night the masquerade at the Teatro del Principe was

February. crowded. The theatre was not cleared until eight o'clock on the morning of Ash Wednesday. This being the first day of Lent, the Prado presented a very different aspect from that of the last three days. A penitential stillness reigned in the streets, and the churches were crowded with those persons who, during the Carnival, were perhaps the gayest of the gay. The theatres were all ordered to be shut during the Lent, as no public amusements of any sort were permitted, except musical concerts, which were conducted upon a minor scale, at an assembly-room called the Cruz de Malta. In the course of the Lent, however, this rule was a little relaxed for the first time, as operas were allowed to be performed twice a week.

13th. Madrid being exceedingly dull after the Carnival was over, I was easily prevailed upon by a friend to join him in an excursion to Guadalajara, for the purpose of visiting the royal cloth and serge factories there. There are stage-coaches established between Madrid and several of the principal towns within ten or twelve leagues all round. They are usually drawn by five or three mules, according to the distance, and very much resemble those large family coaches which were employed in England about a century ago. They have no outside seats; they carry six, not however without inconvenience, inside, and the mules are harnessed with ropes. The driver, like most of the muleteers of New Castile, is dressed in a shallow round hat, with a wide leaf turned up at the sides, and fastened on his head by a leathern thong, which is tied under the chin; a short brown spencer-jacket, gaily decorated at the back with the representation of a pot of flowers, formed by varicoloured pieces of cloth; a shaggy waistcoat, short breeches, and leathern gaiters. A gaudy silk handkerchief, folded like a rope, is tied round his neck, giving the greater part of his well-blanched shirt collar room to appear, and long enough to have its extremities

pinned to a red worsted scarf, which he wears round his waist. Having been detained some hours in order to have our passports duly signed by the Political Chief, we at last set off, at two o'clock in the afternoon, by the road of Alcala. February.

About a league from Madrid, on the left hand, we observed the only instance of a country-seat which I had yet seen in the neighbourhood of the capital. It belongs to the Duchess of Ossuna, is very extensive, surrounded completely by a high wall, and well planted with trees, which, however, are yet too young to afford shade, or even ornament to the situation. The house is low, and built without any pretensions to architectural beauty. The whole demesne may be said to be one garden, which is laid out in plots of vines, olives, vegetables, flowers, and fruits. It is exposed to the full beam of the noonday sun, whence, in summer, it must be far from affording a refreshing retreat. A little farther on, on the right, is seen a cluster of large buildings, called San Fernando, which were formerly used as factories of cloth, but for some years the principal building has been set apart for the reception of Magdalens.

There are no picturesque landscapes to be seen near Madrid. The country all around is so uncultivated, and for the most part so desolate, that one is surprised how the markets of this capital are so abundantly furnished with vegetables. We had some fine views of the range of the Guadarama on the left, upon whose ridges the snow still remained. On the right the hills were seen irregular and barren, deeply indented by the rains of many a winter.

In the course of four or five hours, we arrived at Alcala, five leagues from Madrid, and found that there we must stop for the night. This was not all. On entering the posada we learned that we had no chance of getting any dinner, as there were no provisions in the house. My friend, an English gentleman, who had travelled a good deal in

February. Spain, informed me that this was an incident to be expected on all the Spanish roads, except those between Madrid and Bayonne, where civilization had made some progress. In every other case, when you ask what is to be had for dinner, you are told "nothing but what you have brought yourself." In consequence we went out to the butchers, and purchased, at a very moderate rate, some mutton chops, which being done on the gridiron under our inspection, we found excellent. The wine was good, and for dessert we had raisins and toasted almonds, the fruit also of our personal exertions. I lay some stress on this, as, from the difficulty which we had in getting through this affair, one would imagine that the people of the posada never knew what a dinner was. Upon looking at our beds, we found them thinly covered, hard, cold, and cheerless, so we ordered another bottle of red wine, and had it boiled in a coffee-pot, which my friend brought with him, together with some cinnamon and sugar, and found it a pleasant safeguard against the sharpness of the night.

14th. The sun was out in the morning, but the air was still cold, and we could get no light through the window without also admitting the air—for few Spanish windows in the country can boast of glass. A heavy shutter covers the whole frame, and there is a small square aperture in the middle, which you may open if you like to expose yourself to the blast. With a great deal of difficulty we succeeded in obtaining a breakfast of eggs and coffee, and then sallied forth to see the town. Alcala is seated on the river Henares, and has every aspect of having been formerly a military position of considerable strength. There are the remains of seven or eight old castles, said, as all old edifices in this country are reputed, to be built by the Moors. They are disposed so as to protect the lines of a square which they inclose; two are semicircular, and the

rest quadrangular. There are no stairs in the inside; for the first twenty feet they are quite solid; that is to say, the space between the walls, which are not very thick, is filled up with a coarse cement of gravel and mud. This reaches to a height of about twenty feet, where it is arched over. There is then a small cell, which is entered by very narrow doorways at the sides, they being probably on a level with the summit of the ancient walls. In the front there are portholes, and over this cell there is a strong arch, and the tops are slightly castellated. It is probable that the cell was the only part of the tower which was used for carrying on defensive operations. The square which these towers enclose is now the garden of the Archbishop, who has a magnificent palace here. There was formerly a famous University in Alcala, but it is now no more. The building is very extensive, and going into ruins. It is remarkable only as having been once a seat of learning; for there is nothing in its style of architecture beyond the commonest structure. There are several other buildings which are capable of surprising a stranger, at least by their extent. Among these are two colleges, and two or three convents. The scale upon which these edifices are constructed proves the riches which Spain at one time possessed. They are mostly of thin bricks, with an equal thickness of cement between them. They exhibit, however, no pillars or arches to fascinate the eye; they are shapeless and dull. The cathedral has no exterior grandeur to recommend it; but its interior is constructed and decorated with more beauty and richness than any church I had yet seen in this country. The great altar has a fine effect; it is ascended by a flight of eighteen or twenty steps. The sacred host is usually kept at this cathedral in a large cabinet of massive silver, of very old workmanship. Six tall wax lights are perpetually burning before it. The choir is constructed

February.

February. also in a graceful style; and at the two corners towards the high altar there are two pulpits uncommonly handsome. The sanctuary is hung on each side with pieces of old drapery, which are in the best preservation. There are some good pictures in the small chapels, but none worth particular description.

At two o'clock in the afternoon we took advantage of a coach, which was going on to Guadalajara. As we advanced, we found the scenery more diversified, and somewhat better cultivated; but the hills, though partially greened, presented that brown, parched, and barren aspect which characterizes the southern mountains of Spain. In five hours we arrived at Guadalajara, and fixed our temporary abode at a tolerable posada—considering the general run of these houses. We had for dinner pigeons and fried only fare which the house contained, good wine, grapes half eggs, the dried for dessert, and beds, of which we had no reason to complain.

Agreeable as our posada was, in comparison with others
15th. which we had encountered in Spain, we found, on rising in the morning, that we had no chance of obtaining tea or coffee for breakfast from our landlady. She had nothing to offer us but wine, bread, and fried eggs. My friend, however, remembered that there was a "fonda," or tavern, in the town, so we went out in quest of it: when, after some search, we discovered it, we had the felicity of learning that we could get no breakfast. There was neither coffee nor milk to be had, and to put the matter beyond all doubt, the cook was sick in bed, and had been sick for the last week. Our next project was to see if it were not possible to buy some coffee or tea at a shop, and after a good deal of inquiry, we learned that there was only one shop in the whole town where these articles were sold, and that shop was the apothecary's. Thi-

ther we repaired, asked for some coffee, which was weighed to us out of a bottle, and we found that he sold both this article and tea as medicine. One would hardly believe, if he had not witnessed the fact, that there is a town within ten leagues of Madrid, where coffee and tea are to be had only as medicines out of an apothecary's hands. However, we found it good, though it savoured a little of the shop. Our landlady was not doctress enough to know how to manage it: we were obliged to take the compounding of it on ourselves, and at last found the dose tolerable enough. February.

By this time it was near the dinner hour of the men employed in the cloth factory, and having heard or read something of the Pantheon of the family of the Duke del Infantado, we resolved to pay it a visit. We were told that it was in the church of the convent of St. Francisco, and that a porter in the employment of the Duke had the keys. For this man we inquired in vain. He was not to be found, high or low. In order to compensate ourselves in some measure for this disappointment, we determined to survey at least the exterior of the convent, which is on a hill a little way out of the town. A few minutes brought us to the place, and the first thing we observed was a number of port-holes in one of the walls, which we afterwards learned were formed by the French in 1808, who took possession of the whole of this building, and converted it into a barrack. We had occasion to admire the vastness of this structure, and the singular beauty of its situation. It commands a complete view of the town on one side, and on the other looks over hills and vales planted with olives. On going round the convent we perceived an aperture large enough to afford admittance. Curious to explore the place, I got in, and my friend followed: we at once found ourselves in a kind of hall, the roofing of which was partly taken down, probably to serve the French with fuel. Passing through a door

February. nearly opposite to where we entered, we perceived that we were in a court-yard, though covered with ruins. Having gone thus far, we thought of returning again, as we knew not what might be the result. Instead, however, of going out through the door at which we entered, we went through another, which conducted us into a garden. Like the court-yard, it was in a ruinous state; the vines and other fruit trees wasting away for want of attendance, the earth full of weeds and rank grass, and strewed with bricks and stones.

From the garden we directed our steps towards another part of the building, and entered the refectory. It is a large square apartment; seats and tables are placed round three sides of the room, and the pulpit also still remains undisturbed. From this a door leads into the kitchen, a store-room, and other offices. Our curiosity began to get the better of our discretion, and in exploring our way from the refectory, we got into the cloisters, which enclose a square grass-plot planted with cypresses. By winding stairs we ascended to the second tier of cloisters, from which are the entrances to thirty or forty cells, formerly occupied by the monks. These are comfortable airy rooms; the part of the chamber destined for the bed is nearly closed by a brick partition. We examined several of these cells, thinking we might find a staircase from one of them by which we might descend to the church, but to no purpose. While passing through this set of cloisters we heard a little choir of birds chirping amid the cypress trees in the grass-plot. My friend, who is a good sportsman, immediately perceived that they were grouped around a large white owl, which seemed to be the sole sovereign of these lonely dominions. Our voices affrighted him from one tree to another, until at last he found refuge in the steeple.

To the steeple, also, we bent our steps, hoping that it was connected by a staircase with the church. We were not

deceived; for, after groping some time in the dark, we pushed open a door which led into the Friars' Gallery. It was stripped of nearly all its furniture, organ, music, stands, benches, and paintings. Three small pictures of saints still remained cemented to the wall, which seemed to have escaped the ravages of the French by reason of the height at which they were placed. There also remained on the roof two paintings of the arms of the Infantado family, exquisitely coloured. From this gallery we had a fine view of the interior of the church. It consists of one extensive and very lofty aisle, and before the last invasion of the French, I understand it was magnificently decorated. Little more remained now than the bare walls. February.

By this time the old porter, who was sent after us, arrived with the keys, and conducted us to the Pantheon. It is a very magnificent vault under the great altar. The stairs leading to it, as well as the sides, floor, and roof, are cased with red marble. The principal chamber is of an oval form, in the sides of which there are twenty-six recesses; in each of these was formerly deposited, on a wide marble slab, a sarcophagus of similar material, supported on gilt feet, and covered with a heavy lid, beautifully carved. When the French had possession of the convent, they broke open and destroyed several of these tombs, under the idea that the Infantado family had secreted their treasures amongst the relics of their ancestors. Mutilated lids and cases incumbered the floor, and several of the recesses were vacant. The remains of the dead, which lay scattered about until the French were expelled from Madrid, were collected by the present Duke del Infantado; and, as it was impossible to distinguish them, they were cased up in different portions, and decently deposited in an inner vault of plain brick and mortar.

The Pantheon is lighted by the window of the oratory,

February. which is of plain glass, and recently substituted for one that was exquisitely painted. That fine piece of art was also destroyed by the French. The altar in the oratory is of costly marble, and the floor of curious mosaic. On the tops of four columns, which are disposed round the oratory, are figures of cherubs handsomely executed. The French entertained their lust of destruction by firing at the hands, faces, and legs of these figures, mutilating them with a capricious barbarity. How strange it is that a country, which boasts of its unrivalled civilization, should have sent forth from its bosom such a set of Vandal brigands as composed the late French army!

We had but little time to visit the cloth factory, after leaving the Pantheon. However we observed enough of it to convince us that it was a stupendous establishment. Hitherto it had been carried on by the government, together with a serge factory, in the same town, and another cloth factory at Brihuega. There is also a fulling mill connected with it, which is a short distance from Guadalajara, and built on the river Henares—in itself an extensive and valuable set of buildings. The whole, as national property, was assigned to the *credito publico*.

At one time the establishments at Brihuega and Guadalajara gave employment to no fewer than thirty-two thousand men; but on account of the number of offices connected with them, the cloths and other goods which they produced never covered their expenses. Both in the cloth and serge factories at Guadalajara, I observed several English machines, which must have been smuggled into the country. In the serge factory all the wool is still spun by the hand in the old way, and in the machinery for pressing and singeing they are very much behind England. When Bessieres approached Guadalajara, all the cloth was removed to a place of safety, and since that time there had not been more than

fifty or sixty hands a day employed. The reason assigned was, the fear of the factious; but the fact was, that the government had no wool, nor money to buy it, and in consequence these fine establishments were at a stand*. February.

We had also intended to visit the Duke del Infantado's mansion, but we could not gain admittance, as the municipality had taken possession of the keys when Bessieres came to Guadalajara. With respect to the factious, we learned from various sources, that they conducted themselves with the strictest discipline during the short time they were in possession of the town. We did not hear of a single act of violence having been perpetrated by them. They asked for food, or money in lieu of it, and the people of the town supplied them abundantly with the former. The infantry were badly clothed, consisting of Catalonians and Aragonese of small but hardy frames, and well armed. The cavalry, especially the lancers, were well clothed, and their horses, like the Catalonian men, small but vigorous and spirited. On inquiry into the political sentiments of the inhabitants, I received the same answer in every instance, which I had already frequently heard—"We want nothing but peace."

The following day I returned to Madrid. 16th.

* It is understood that an English firm is at present in treaty for the establishments at Guadalajara, and that the government has intimated an intention of giving them a preference, if they are to be disposed of by private contract. It has every appearance of a precarious speculation in the present state of Spain. It will require a vast capital in the first instance, and, in the next place, who can assure the purchaser that faith will be kept with him? In a different state of things, the speculators might expect to make rapid and princely fortunes.

CHAPTER XV.

REMOVAL AND RE-INSTATEMENT OF THE MINISTRY.—TUMULTS IN MADRID.

February. In the sitting of the 15th, the Cortes passed a decree, authorizing the government to remove its residence to whatever place the king should name, if the exigencies of the threatened invasion should require such a measure, between the closing of the session of the extraordinary Cortes and the opening of that of the ordinary Cortes. The ministers lost no time in obtaining the sanction of the king to
18th. this decree; soon after which they went up to his Majesty in a body, and presented to him a request in writing that he would name a place to which the government might be removed; and also appoint a day for setting out upon his journey. They pressed the subject of the paper which they presented by several arguments; and during the whole scene, according to their own account of it*, no uncourteous or unpolished expression escaped their lips, nor did they quit the apartment of his Majesty whistling or singing, as had been charged against them.

19th. In an interview, however, with which the king honoured Bertrand de Lis the following morning, his Majesty did not hesitate to say how disagreeable it was to him to be urged to quit Madrid, especially when as yet there appeared no immediate danger to cause his departure; his Majesty was much surprised that it was not considered that, by his leaving the capital before the necessity arose, the public

* Espectador, February 23.

opinion and spirit would decline considerably; giving room, February.
at the same time, to the belief that the ministers had a double and sinister view in removing him from Madrid; that by taking him to a less important place, it would then, indeed, be said that the king possessed no liberty, and that he was oppressed by a faction—an imputation which, in the opinion of his Majesty, ought to be avoided, because the enemies of liberty, both at home and abroad, would, perhaps, avail themselves of this circumstance, and make such use of it as would be convenient to their purposes, and prejudicial to the interests of the country.

This is stated on the authority of a letter, written and published at the time by Bertrand de Lis, giving an account of the inverview; and he adds—"What passed between his Majesty and his ministers, and whether or not his Majesty had weighty reasons for being displeased with them, are subjects into which I do not think proper to enter, nor can I do less than avoid touching upon them, since, according to what has transpired, they form an anecdote little honourable to the ministry, and to the nation at whose head they are placed."

Ever since the approach of Bessieres to Madrid, rumours were afloat of a change of ministry. Latterly these reports had acquired a certain consistency, and it was understood that a new ministry was arranged, which would be nominated immediately after the termination of the session, an event which was to take place on the 19th. The new arrangements comprised Cevallos, as Minister of State; the Prince of Anglona, as Minister of War; Romarate, as Minister of Marine; Romanillo, as Minister of Grace and Justice. The Duke of Frias was also spoken of as destined to a department. Several of these individuals were members of the Council of State; and it may be recollected, that when Bessieres was almost at the gates of Madrid, the Cortes sus-

February. pended the law which prevented a member of that body from accepting any office in the appointment of the crown. The day before the session terminated, the Cortes repealed that decree of suspension, without prejudice to the appointments already made by the government, a measure which effectually dissolved the administration that was proposed to be named.

19th. In this state of things, the Cortes met on the morning of the 19th: and, the king being unable to attend from an affliction of the gout, the President read, in the name of his Majesty, the following speech, which the Secretary of State for the Interior handed to him:

"Deputies,

"On closing the session of this extraordinary legislature, I feel happy in expressing my satisfaction and gratitude for the decision, the patriotism, and the zeal which have shone forth in all your labours.

"A necessity has arisen for some sacrifices, both in men and money, in order to remedy the evils of the State, and the salutary effects which I expected have corresponded to the promptitude with which they have been granted. The factious, who meditated the ruin of the fundamental law, are yielding the field to the valour of the national troops. That junta of perjured men, who titled themselves the Regency of Spain, have disappeared like smoke, and the rebels, who calculated on such secure and easy victories, have already begun to feel the severe results of their folly.

"The soldiers, who sustain the national cause with so much glory, are worthy of every praise; and among the consolations which victory has given them, it will not be the least, that the extraordinary Cortes have occupied themselves in giving them regulations analogous to the fundamental code which governs them. This work, already far advanced, is a sure guarantee for them, that the civil and

military laws will be soon in harmony, and that that difference between both, which has caused so many inconveniences, resentments and disputes, shall soon cease to exist. February.

" Other labours equally useful have distinguished this extraordinary legislature. The regulation of the police, the law of replacement, the measures conceded to my government for the purpose of consolidating the constitutional system, and others besides presented to the Cortes within this period, attest the assiduity, the constancy, and the advantage with which the representatives of the nation have fulfilled the trust reposed in them.

" Several of the sittings of this legislature will be celebrated for the pure patriotism which it exhibited. It has decreed rewards to those who, on the 7th of July, deserved well of their country; and the principal leaders, who distinguished themselves in that memorable event, have presented themselves at its bar. The sittings of the 9th and 11th of January will shine above all, and will form the chief lustre of this extraordinary Cortes. The shout of national honour resounded in the sanctuary of the laws in the sublimest manner, and all Spaniards have felt that there is nothing comparable to the felicity of having a country.

" Some diplomatic relations have been interrupted during the sitting of this Cortes; but these disagreements of cabinet with cabinet have augmented the moral force of the nation in the eyes of the whole of that part of the civilized world, which has any regard for honour, probity, and justice. On seeing that Spain does not surrender herself to degradation, they will have formed an idea of her firm character, and of the auspicious influence of those institutions which govern her.

" The King of France has intimated to the two chambers of the legislature his intentions with respect to Spain. Mine

February. are already public, and have been delivered in the most solemn manner.

"Valour, decision, constancy, love of national independence, and the conviction, more deep than ever, of the necessity of preserving the Constitutional Code of 1812: here are the vigorous answers which a nation ought to give to the anti-social principles promulgated in the speech of the Most Christian King.

"The circumstances in which our public interests are placed are of a grave character; but nothing ought to induce either my government, or the Cortes, to give ground. My firm and constant union with the deputies of the nation will be a sure pledge of the success, and of the new days of glory which await us. The day of again opening the session of Cortes is near. A new field of patriotism is about to offer itself to the representatives of the nation, and new motives to me to make my sentiments known to the world.

"Palace, Feb. 19. "FERNANDO."

The President, after reading the above speech, closed the session of the extraordinary Cortes at a quarter past twelve o'clock; and at one o'clock a circular royal decree, countersigned by the Minister of Finance, was sent to all the other members of the cabinet, informing them that the king exonerated them from the offices which they respectively held. From the circumstance of Egea's signing the decree, it was at first inferred that he had separated his interests from those of his colleagues. But it was not so. They had all expected that such a decree would be issued, and they agreed that the minister who should first receive it should countersign and circulate it amongst his colleagues.

In two or three hours after this event took place, the intelligence of it was known in every part of the capital. I

could not perceive that it excited any general feeling of alarm. The question every where asked was, who are to be the new ministers? This was a question which nobody could answer, as in fact no new ministry was appointed. February.

It was observed, however, that about seven o'clock in the evening, a collection of between four and five hundred persons, formed of groups which had come from different quarters of the capital, went down in a body to the palace. They were followed, or soon after joined, by perhaps as many more, who were curious to witness their proceedings. The whole found admittance into the square before the palace, immediately under the windows of the king's drawing-room. Attempts were made to penetrate into the palace, but this the guard on duty prevented, and the gates of the building were shut. The drums beat to arms; the militia infantry, and cavalry, were called out; they formed in an uninterrupted line in front of the palace, and they kept the crowd at a distance of ten or twelve paces from it.

From different parts of this crowd I heard a confused sound of voices; some discussed aloud the question of the removal of the ministry, reprobating it in acrimonious terms; and others directing their eyes towards the windows of the drawing-room cried out, *Presencia*, *Presencia*—the presence—that is calling to the king to come out to the balcony. This cry they accompanied with others, such as "*Viva el ministerio!*" and "*Regencia!*" "The ministry for ever!" "A Regency!"—thus intimating to the king, if he heard them, that he must re-appoint the ex-ministry, or submit to be deposed by a Regency. These cries were repeated every moment by distinct, though unvarying voices, from different parts of the crowd; and sometimes a particular group would shout them in chorus, accompanying them with execrations and expressions of a seditious character. One man, a militiaman, not on duty, stood before the balcony,

February. and pointing towards the window, as if the king were there, he expressed himself to the following effect:—"Tyrant, it is now nine years since you were restored to your throne by the valour and generosity of the Spanish people. Where is your gratitude? How have you evinced a sense of the foolish love which we bore you? You destroyed our Constitution as soon as you came amongst us; and now that it has been happily re-established, you have attempted, tiger that you are! to destroy it a second time. Citizens! is this man fit to be our king?" "Down with the tyrant," "Depose him from the throne." "Deprive him of his crown!" "Kill him." "Imprison him in a fortress." These were literally some of the answers which he received from a few individuals in the crowd. I observed that the person who made this speech went afterwards among other groups, and endeavoured to excite them in the same manner. I observed also that by far the greater part of the crowd were mere spectators who took no part in the proceedings.

At nine o'clock—still no ministry was appointed. The number in the Palace square was on the decline. A militia officer was going about among the crowd inculcating, with as much energy as he could command, this maxim, "that he who removed the ministry would rob Spain also of her liberty." There were four or five militia-men unemployed in duty, though their uniforms appeared under their cloaks, who I plainly saw were making it their business to go about from group to group, uttering violent harangues, and calling the king *un tonto*,—an idiot, who was unfit to reign. It was industriously circulated that when the ministers asked the king to consent to his removal from Madrid, he abused them not only in violent but ungentlemanlike terms; and that he had even descended to make use of a low and ribaldrous dialect, which is among the privileges only of the most abandoned characters. This I suppose was a report in

answer to one which had prevailed in the morning, and which imputed the uncourteous terms to the ministers. February.

Between nine and ten o'clock the Ayuntamiento, or municipality, sent a deputation to the king, with a remonstrance stating that agitation prevailed in the capital, and calling on his majesty in strong terms to restore the ministry. The cries of the agitators in the crowd—for by this name I must distinguish them from the inactive spectators—acquired by by this time fresh vigour, and they loudly threatened the king, that unless he reinstated the ministry, they must have a Regency. *Regencia! Regencia!* was resounded from different parts of the crowd by isolated voices. I observed a few persons of mean, and I must add of ferocious aspects, who carried poniards and swords under their cloaks. The council of state was sitting.

By the time the palace clock struck eleven, the crowd was considerably diminished, and was now lessening rapidly. At length it became generally known amongst those who remained, that the king had agreed to restore the ministry, and they dispersed with shouts of triumph. The king had signed at a quarter past ten a decree suspending, "for the present," the effect of the decree which he had issued in the morning; and desiring the ministers to continue the exercise of their functions. This decree was remitted by command of his majesty to the municipality, in order that by reaching through that body "to the knowledge of the public, *tranquillity might be restored!*" Thus the king begun this important day with signing a speech, eulogizing the Cortes, and claiming every confidence for his government; in a few hours after, he dismisses his ministers; and after leaving the country without a government for nine hours, he re-appoints the same men whom he had so openly disgraced. And he re-appoints them only "for the present," in order that "public tranquillity might be restored:" thus presenting an

February. unequivocal proof to the sovereigns of Europe, and to the world, that he was restrained from the free exercise of his most undoubted and most important prerogative, by a tumultuary assemblage of the people.

It was said that in order to work up the king's mind to this measure, strong representations were made to him upon the agitated state of the capital; and among other things it was insinuated that the people of the lower Barrios, or wards of the capital, that is to say, the very lowest order of the inhabitants—were all arming and preparing to march on the palace, and massacre the king and royal family. This, it was said, disheartened the king very much, as he was under the impression that these classes were all in his favour.

The insinuation as to the arming of these classes was without the slightest foundation, as I was confidently assured by a gentleman who made it his business to inquire into the state of these *Barrios*, that, to use his expressions, "not so much as a mouse was stirring there." He had traversed several parts of the capital during the evening, and he stated that they presented no signs whatever of agitation. I staid at the palace until a quarter past eleven. In coming to my residence I had to traverse Madrid from one end to the other, and I can safely say, that in all that distance I observed, beyond the precincts of the palace, no crowd of people, heard no cries, encountered nothing whatever which could justify the statement that the capital was disturbed. The streets were perfectly quiet.

The ministry having been thus restored, it was fully expected that things had arrived at a crisis at which they could not long remain without taking a decisive turn one way or the other. It was already well understood that the present ministers never had Ferdinand's confidence, but he had now proclaimed that openly to the world; as far as de-

pended upon him, he disgraced them; and yet, in that condition, he sent them back to the cabinet. One would be surprised at the facility with which they accepted office again, under such disgusting circumstances, if it was not judged that they had some important plan in hand. February.

It was generally surmised that in conjunction with the permanent deputation of Cortes*, they had some obscure intentions of preparing the public mind for a Regency. It was not at random, or for mere self gratification, that a small party of men went to the palace, and endeavoured to sow the idea of a Regency in the minds of the crowd assembled there. They were evidently hired for the purpose, though I thought then, as I think still, that they made no way amongst the people.

The day after this scene occurred, I walked down to the royal palace accompanied by a friend, and, after passing through it, we proceeded towards the palace of the Cortes, where the permanent deputation was then sitting. We were attracted to that quarter by some shouts which we heard, and on proceeding to the entrance we found it surrounded by an assembly of persons about four hundred in number. A few were military men; the rest of the very lowest classes. A young woman was elevated on a block of stone that was placed near the entrance of the palace of the Cortes, and she harangued this mob incessantly. Her stature was short, her face rather strongly, though regularly formed, and she was dressed in a plain cotton body, a basquine, or black silk petticoat, a red cloth shawl, and a black silk mantilla, or veil. She was possessed of an amazingly powerful voice, and she exerted it in all its force in urging the mob to demand of the permanent deputation that it should appoint a Regency forthwith. The mob frequently cried out "a Regency," in obedience to her dictates,—"We want no king." "We 20th.

* The permanent deputation sits in the interval of the sessions.

February. want no moderates." "We want a Regency, and nothing else." Whenever the cries relaxed, the young woman renewed her exertions and bade them to cry out for a Regency, and to stay there all night, until they succeeded. She frequently repeated this exhortation, and excited herself into such a rage against the king, that she foamed at the mouth. One of the guards on duty endeavoured to reason with her, but she attacked him so violently, calling him a moderate, and a servile, that he was glad to escape from her. She held her pocket handkerchief in her right hand, waving it now and then when she saw her dictates obeyed; and strange to say, the mob listened to her as if she were a sibyl. Whenever she desired them to cry out, they did so; when she uttered the word "Regencia," they echoed her voice.

During this scene, Galiano, a leading deputy of the masonic party, came out from the interior of the palace, and as soon as he presented himself a number of persons collected around him and addressed some words to him, which, on account of the noise, I could not distinctly hear. The word *Regencia*, however, was clearly audible, and Galiano, from his manner, according to my impressions, seemed anxious to forward any wishes they expressed upon that subject.

Even in this assemblage, I must observe, the number of persons who took an active share in the business was limited to between twenty and thirty, and these too, with very few exceptions, men and women who probably knew not the meaning of the demand which they made. This continued for some time, when at last a man came out from the interior of the palace of the Cortes, and having stated that he had a communication to make, the female commander immediately desired that he should be heard. She ordered silence and attention, in the most peremptory manner, and the man delivered himself in the following terms: "I am," said he,

" the organ of a deputation from the Ayuntamiento, who February.
have come here to represent to the permanent deputation the necessity of assembling the extraordinary Cortes again without delay. The deputation have said in answer to us, that the ordinary Cortes are to meet on the 1st of March; that even if they had resolved upon it, they could not summon the extraordinary Cortes before the 25th of this month, and that it would make a difference of only a few days to wait for the ordinary Cortes."

" We want a regency," uttered some voices in the crowd led on by the woman; " we want a regency, and that quickly; we must have the Cortes immediately, we will not wait till the 25th."

" What do you wish me to do then?" asked the man; " is it your desire that I should go back to the Ayuntamiento, and tell them, that you demand that the Extraordinary Cortes should be again assembled?" " Yes," exclaimed the voices, " that is what we wish." " Very well, then," he replied, " let us go to the Ayuntamiento."

The mob then proceeded in a body to the Ayuntamiento. By going the direct way, they might have arrived at their destination in five minutes; but they chose to take a round, in order to pass by the Puerta del Sol (where there is generally a number of people assembled in the afternoon), thinking they might swell their numbers by this manœuvre. They went forward, and, as they proceeded, they frequently cried out, " Regencia! Regencia!" The inhabitants in their houses came to their windows to see the mob, which, however, even in a narrow street, when the line was extended, presented no formidable appearance. I did not observe that, in so much as one instance, the persons, male or female, in the windows and balconies, answered the cry of " Regencia!" They laughed, or stared, as if the spectacle were a proof of the drunkenness or folly of the persons who composed it.

February. The female leader accosted every woman and group of men she encountered, inviting them to come to the Ayuntamiento to demand a regency. Those she addressed mostly laughed at her. She succeeded in getting one or two militiamen to follow the procession; and she took the arms of two old women, and forced them with her. The mob thinned very materially when they arrived at the Puerta del Sol, and when they reached the Ayuntamiento, they did not exceed two hundred at the utmost. Here the female leader was surrounded by six or seven more women, from fifty to sixty years of age, and they assisted her in crying out, with all their might, "Regencia." After some time, one of the guard accommodated the heroine of the day with a chair, upon which she mounted, and repeated her former harangues with a strength of voice and an energy of action quite surprising.

While she was resting herself a little from the labours of the day, a militiaman, who came out from the house of the Ayuntamiento, went up to her, and desired her to get up and excite the people as much as she could, and told her that he was going to the Puerta del Sol for the same purpose. If he went there, I am pretty confident that he made few converts; and as for the lady, she was invited into the house of the Ayuntamiento, whither she went.

Whether it was that the Ayuntamiento was ashamed of appearing to be dictated to by the miserable agitators who presented themselves before its house, or that a little reflection taught it to stop short in the course it was pursuing, I know not. But having got the female orator into its possession, it suffered the idlers abroad to wait without any answer to their desire that the Extraordinary Cortes should be convoked again, until at last, tired with expectation, they disappeared one by one. So far, therefore, the regency manœuvre failed.

There is a public fountain before the house of the Ayunta- February.
miento, which is ornamented by a statue emblematic of the country. Another small female figure, of composition, painted a bronze colour, was during the morning placed on the same pedestal with the statue, and fastened to it by a cord. The figure appeared with the head and arms struck off, and the remnants of the limbs were deposited in the cavity of a crown, which formed one of the decorations of the pedestal. Can any one doubt the purpose of this exhibition? A single police officer might have removed it at any time of the day or night, and yet it remained untouched for several days. Here was an instance of that fear, negligence, or connivance on the part of the public authorities of Madrid, which gave an importance to the tumultuary proceedings of the 19th and 20th of February. To estimate them by their numbers, or the description of persons who took part in those transactions, would be to say that they were utterly contemptible.* But when it was seen that the authorities took no measures to disperse the mob that was collected under the palace windows, and that the soldiers on duty there rather encouraged than rebuked the persons who were raising treasonable cries to the very ears of the king, and the whole royal family; and when it was known that these expressions, in most instances, proceeded from men, who, under their cloaks, wore the uniform of the national militia, it was impossible not to attach a character of grave importance to that nocturnal assemblage.

When the regency mob was at its highest number, twenty cavalry would have dispersed them without the least difficulty. It was led on, inspired, and regulated by a foolish, perhaps an insane young woman. The very show of a military force, destined to impede their course, would have put them all to flight. Yet were they permitted to move through the streets in processional order, uttering expressions of

February. the most seditious character. In themselves they were despicable; it was the conduct of the authorities which stamped their proceedings with a dangerous character.

Strange to say, the public journals took little notice of these extraordinary transactions. The *Espectador*, in speaking of the mob that assembled under the palace windows, congratulated the ministry on their popularity, and assured its readers that the people never collected together in such numbers before—never conducted themselves with so much order and propriety. Of the numbers I have already spoken. If open treason, and personal insults against the king, be the proofs of order and propriety, the praises of the *Espectador* were justified. When the avowed organ of the ministers thus openly sustained the tumultuary interference of the people with the most delicate, as well as the most undoubted branch of the king's prerogative, it was not surprising to hear the French ministers talk of the anarchy prevailing at Madrid.

At night a table was laid out in the middle of the Plaza, covered with a white cloth, and illuminated by two torches. On this table a petition was exposed for signatures, demanding of the Cortes to appoint a regency. It received some names; but at length the political chief, ashamed perhaps of the paucity of signatures, took it away, and ordered the table and torches to be removed.

Various were the conjectures and anecdotes; various, doubtless, also, the inventions which were afloat respecting the intrigues for the removal and reinstatement of the ministry. The Freemasons charged the Communeros with having formed a coalition with the Serviles, in order to effect the downfall of the government, with the view of preparing the way for the modification of the Constitution. The Communeros maintained that the king only exercised his prerogative in dismissing a ministry incapable of inspiring

confidence in the country, from their want of talent to sustain the duties of their offices. They moreover alleged, that the commotion and the assemblage of a mob under the palace windows was caused by the ministers and their agents; and it was even said, that three of the ministers were seen in disguise, going among the mob and paying dollars and half dollars to those who cried out for their restoration. February.

The political chief and the Ayuntamiento were Communeros; the militia were ministerial, and the ministers were Masons. How can we reconcile this coincidence of plan for effecting two opposite purposes? The Communeros wished the deposition of the ministry, and favoured the public treason; the Masons and militia wished the restoration of the ministry, and excited the public treason; both sought their different ends in a momentary anarchy, and the Masons gained a victory, which, on account of its means, seemed to be the precursor of their ruin.

The accounts from Cadiz represented that important city to be also in a state of disorder. The Communeros had been recently exerting every means to detach the inhabitants of Cadiz from the ministry and its party, and to connect them with the sons of Padilla, or the Communero party. From the occurrence of the late discontent, and the height to which the inhabitants seemed inclined to carry it, may be inferred the extent to which the Communeros succeeded. The facts are reducible to a narrow compass. A report was spread by the Masons that Cadiz was preparing to declare itself independent of the government, and some symptoms of sedition having shown themselves, which warned the commandant-general of the province to take the necessary precautions, he directed the battalion of San Marcial, which was under orders for Cordova, to march into Cadiz. This battalion happened to be remarkable as the first which declared with Riego for the Constitution; of course it was of

February. the Masonic party; and the Communeros of Cadiz were indignant on hearing that the peace of their city was about to be intrusted to their political adversaries. On the second day of the Carnival the battalion, in effect, marched into Cadiz; they were badly received, and in the course of the two following days some tumults occurred. One party cried "*viva* Riego," the other "*viva* Padilla." Disputes followed, and contests arose, from this ridiculous cause; showing how unfortunately true it is that men are more inclined to discover reasons for disunion than for harmony, and that they are never more prone to do so than when their sentiments approximate so closely, that the difference between them is in form, not in substance.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.—THE MASONS AND COMMUNEROS.—NOMINATION OF A NEW MINISTRY.—OPENING OF THE ORDINARY CORTES.—CONDUCT OF THE KING.—CONCLUSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.—REMOVAL OF GOVERNMENT.—DEPARTURE OF THE KING.

THERE were those who suspected that the recent change of the Spanish ministry was an event not wholly unforeseen by the French government, or foreign to its agency; and that the Count La Garde, on his departure from Madrid, was not unapprized of the intentions of the king upon this subject. Certain it is, that when the intelligence of that event reached Paris, and for several days after, the language of the French ministers assumed a colour more pacific than had been observed for the preceding three weeks*. They spoke confidently of the continuation of peace if the Spanish cabinet were changed; an object which the royal decree, restoring the ministers only "for the present," promised soon to realize. February.

In the meantime, the speech of his majesty on the opening of Parliament, and the debates on the address in reply to it, were eagerly translated into all the Spanish journals; and there was scarcely a Spaniard who read them who did not believe that sooner or later England would take a part in the approaching contest. They were not generally well informed as to the state and influence of parties in England; and they conceived that those members who objected to

* Sir C. Stuart's despatch, March 6.

February. neutrality spoke the sentiments of the nation. Mr. Canning had already taken every opportunity of impressing upon the Spanish government, that if ultimately a war should arise, England would remain strictly neutral*. But when the first debates in Parliament arrived in Madrid, the speeches in both Houses, particularly that of the Earl of Liverpool, led not only the public, but the government, to hope that the policy of the British cabinet had undergone a change more favourable to the wishes and interests of Spain. An Englishman could easily perceive that the noble earl in that speech directed his views rather against France than towards Spain; and that there was no substantial ground in it, upon which an impartial reader could found those hopes that Spaniards entertained. But that such hopes existed in their minds at this period I am convinced, as I had frequent opportunities of witnessing them.

23rd. When Sir William A'Court, in obedience to instructions, communicated to M. San Miguel the distinct propositions which had proceeded from France, that gentleman observed to his excellency, that "the British government was labouring under a delusion, in supposing any sort of modification possible. It would be a much easier thing to overturn the whole Constitutional system, and to re-establish absolute despotism, than to concede even the most insignificant of the points which had been mentioned as the most likely to conciliate. He was fully aware that England asked no modifications on her own account. He knew that she wished to preserve to Spain her Constitutional system; that her only object in trying to engage Spain to yield upon certain points arose from a conviction that if a war did break out, she (England) must be sooner or later involved in it herself. He knew very well that she would not declare in favour of

* Mr. Canning's despatch to Sir W. A'Court, Feb. 9.

Spain at first; but nobody could be so blind as not to see, February.
that, if the war was protracted, and the other powers took part in it, England alone could not remain a passive spectator of what might be its results*."

Two days before this conversation between Sir William A'Court and M. San Miguel took place, M. de Chateaubriand, in an interview with Sir Charles Stuart, reduced his former propositions to these: that the Spanish negotiators should engage at a future period to modify their Constitution; and in the meanwhile prove their good faith by restoring the king to his physical liberty, and allowing him to frequent the country palaces and watering places; by a general amnesty; by the establishment of laws to regulate the press, and by a change of ministry †. These terms, so widely different from those which were formerly proposed, were evidently the result of the energetic representations of the British cabinet, seconded, as they were, by the general feeling prevailing in Parliament and the country. They were rational, and, under the circumstances, as liberal as could be expected. They had only one fault, that they were propositions from one independent state to another concerning its interior affairs; and were therefore so vicious in principle, that nothing short of a fear of seeing all Europe involved in a new war could have justified a British minister in being the medium of their communication.

In the meanwhile the preparations for war were going on 24th.
very slowly on the part of Spain. The war minister might issue orders; but he could not reduce them to practice without funds, for which he called in vain upon the minister of finance. The capital continued in perfect tranquillity, which a single incident scarcely threatened to disturb.

* Sir William A'Court's despatch, February 23.

† Sir Charles Stuart's despatch, February 21.

February. A peasant, who, contrary to the general custom of Spaniards, had been indulging himself freely with wine, was passing out of a tavern where he had spent the evening, and meeting two or three militiamen, he cried out "*Muera la Constitucion!*"—Death to the Constitution! One of the militiamen, seeing that he was not perfect master of his senses, addressed him in an amicable manner, and told him he would expose himself to danger if he persevered in using those expressions. The peasant only cried out the louder, and the militiamen at length told him they would take him to prison. Upon hearing this menace, the peasant pulled out a large knife, which he had under his cloak, and flourished it about. One of the soldiers attempted to disarm him, but in the struggle the peasant proved the stronger, and he inflicted a dangerous wound on his antagonist. By this time a crowd was collected around the combatants. The military drew their swords, fell on the unfortunate peasant, and after cutting him deeply in several parts of his body, they carried him to prison. The wounded soldier was taken to the hospital.

Serious apprehensions were entertained that the contest of intrigue for the offices of government, which was going on between the Masons and the Communeros, would exhibit itself in scenes of open violence. It was more than insinuated that the Masons were training the ideas of their party towards the establishment of a Regency, and were resolved at all hazards to effect the removal of the king from Madrid. Both these objects the Communeros declared they would oppose, and thus, after months of mutual complaint, of attempts at conciliation, and of repeated ruptures, these two factions at length joined issue.

The deputation of the province of Madrid, a body whose jurisdiction is chiefly conversant with the financial affairs and public works of the province, was composed of strenuous

partizans of the ministry. During the late events, the mu- February.
nicipality issued two or three proclamations which were framed in terms calculated to flatter the people of Madrid, and to inculcate the preservation of public order. At the same time, the provincial deputation presented an address to the king, remonstrating against the conditional reinstatement of the ministry, and demanding that it should be absolute. "The clause of *for the present* (they said) which has been inserted in the decree of reinstatement, perhaps, unintentionally, has been a new motive for inspiring distrust and fresh apprehension that to-morrow, or on some other occasion more convenient, and not less critical, your majesty will repeat your first decree, and leave the nation in a state of orphanage and weakness prejudicial to the sacred cause of liberty and independence. Your majesty knows all the influence of these words when the great interests of the state are in question, and when each individual looks upon himself, his oaths, and his engagements. The passions are immensely inflamed with the perspective of those dangers which threaten to overwhelm the country: *they believe that your majesty does not proceed with that sincerity which this magnanimous and generous nation deserves; they believe that your majesty does not walk frankly in the Constitutional path;* they believe that the only object is to cause them to slumber, in order that the favourers of despotism may triumph: *they believe that your majesty is serving only as an instrument in the hands of the enemies of the system in order to re-establish absolute power and the Inquisition; and they believe, in fine, that these evils call imperiously for a remedy sufficient to prevent their recurrence.*

This "sufficient remedy" was interpreted to mean nothing more or less than a Regency; and in consequence of this and other similar menaces, the Communeros sent a deputation to the king, consisting of a superior officer, a curate of Madrid, 25th.

February. and one of the militia, to assure his majesty that all the members of their association were resolved to defend the Constitutional throne and the person of the king with their arms and lives. At the same time the deputation informed him that a design was on foot to bring about a new revolution on the 1st of March, for the purpose of declaring his majesty incapable of reigning, and of appointing a Regency; but that the Communeros, who numbered above forty-five thousand members, were on the alert, and they promised his majesty that this design would be frustrated.

Since the events of the 19th of February, the council of state was much employed in forming a new ministry. Over-
28th. tures were made to Martinez de la Rosa, the leading member of the ministry, which was obliged to resign, in consequence of the events of the 7th of July. He was sent for twice by the king, but knowing that the object of these messages was to offer him the ministry, he declined presenting himself to his majesty, assuring his majesty at the same time, that he might dispose of his life in any manner he thought fit, but that he was firmly resolved, under existing circumstances, to take no part in the government of the country. Martinez de la Rosa is one of the ablest men of whom Spain can boast. Considering, however, that his ministry went out of office in consequence of its being declared by the Cortes that they had lost their moral influence, it is a proof of his wisdom that he refused at this time to return to power. The least misfortune in public affairs would have raised a fresh clamour against him, which he could not resist.

At length, on the eve of the opening of the ordinary Cortes, the council of state sent a list to his majesty containing the following nominations: Don Alvaro Florez Estrada, state (foreign affairs); Don Antonio Diaz del Moral, interior and, *ad interim*, Ultramar; Don Jose Romai, marine; Don Jose Torrijos, war; Don Jose Zor-

raquin, grace and justice; Don Lorenzo Calvos de Rozas, February. finance.

Florez Estrada is known in England as the author of two pamphlets, one on the Revolution of South America, and the other a letter which he addressed to the king on the Revolution of 1814. Both these works have been translated into English, and have been well received. He was a refugee for eight years in England, and received, as well as the other liberal refugees of that period, a handsome pension from our government. He was formerly one of the richest proprietors in Spain; his chief revenues were derived from extensive iron mines which he possessed in the province of Asturias. He had also been Intendant of several provinces. In the last war he performed distinguished services to his country, and when the government retired to Cadiz, he was one of the most ardent propagators of liberal opinions. He was a deputy of Cortes in 1820 and 1821, and gave independent votes. He is now about sixty years of age, possesses considerable experience in political affairs, is well-informed with respect to the different cabinets of Europe, and to unaffected manners, adds a stock of sound sense. He has a great admiration for English Institutions, and it is well known that he did not consider the Spanish Constitution as a model of perfection.

Diaz del Moral, who was nominated to the interior, and, *ad interim*, to the department of Ultramar, is of a noble family of Granada, and for several years he acted in that city as secretary in the chancery. Desirous to extend the circle of his information, he went to court in 1805, and formed connexions with some of the most distinguished men of that epoch. When the ordinary Cortes were installed in Cadiz, he was named deputy for Granada, and he declared himself energetically for the most *exalted* party. When Ferdinand returned, in 1814, Diaz del Moral fled to

March. foreign countries, and spent the ensuing six years between London and Paris. He was a deputy in the Cortes of 1820 and 1821, and constantly voted against the ministry of Arguelles. He was director of the Credito Publico when he was nominated minister. He is said to be a man of unsullied integrity, of clear, rather than copious ideas on political affairs, and was reputed to be a Communero.

Zorraquin was formerly an advocate, and afterwards attorney-general to the council of Castile. It is not said that in either capacity he acquired much reputation. He was also a deputy of the Cortes in Cadiz, where he connected himself intimately with the party of Count Toreno, Calatrava, and others. He had been appointed fiscal of the supreme tribunal when he was called to the ministry.

Torrijos is a field-marshal: a young man, and one of the most exalted of the Communeros.

Romai and Calvos de Rozas were not much known.

1st. The session of the ordinary Cortes was opened on the 1st of March with a speech which was read by the president, in consequence of the absence of his majesty through indisposition. It was framed in very general terms, except towards the conclusion, where his majesty was made to say: "For my part, I again offer the National Congress to cooperate by my efforts towards realizing the hopes entertained by the friends of the liberal institutions of Spain, by putting in execution all the means in my power to repel force by force. My seasonable removal, and that of the Cortes, to a place less exposed to the influence of military operations, must paralyze the plans of the enemy, and avoid the suspension of the influence of active government, which ought to be communicated to every corner of the monarchy."

The same day the king accepted the resignations of the

ministers, enjoining them to read their respective memorials March.
to Cortes before quitting office; and he appointed the above named gentlemen as their successors. When the day arrived, on which the ministers were to read their memorials, the Cortes, on the motion of Senor Canga, postponed the performance of that duty; and thus by a sort of parliamentary manœuvre, the newly-appointed ministers were prevented from entering on their functions, whilst it could scarcely be said that those who still occupied the government were legally authorised to discharge its functions. In this situation of things, Florez Estrada, and all his colleagues except Torrijos, sent in their resignations, but the king would not accept that of Estrada, and he filled up the other vacancies from time to time. The object of the king in persevering upon this point with so much obstinacy was evidently to make it manifest to all the world, that the Cortes had it in their power indirectly to suspend the most important of his few prerogatives, and that possessing that power, they exercised it at a moment when, of all others, their proceedings were most jealously watched.

They next insisted that the king should name the place to which the government should be removed, and his majesty fixed on Seville; but no day was yet settled for the departure of the royal family, and there is no doubt that every member of that family wished that day to be deferred as long as possible. With this view it was represented by his majesty's physicians that his gout became progressively worse, and they went so far as to state, that he could not undertake a journey without exposing his life to imminent danger. Official reports of the king's health were communicated daily to Cortes by ministers, who at first seemed disposed rather to exaggerate than conceal the extent of his affliction. It was impossible to mistake their object. Senor Rico said in open Cortes, that there was a conspiracy on foot

March. against the liberties of the country, that he firmly believed the centre of it was in the palace, and that the time had arrived when they ought to declare the king *physically impotent.* Not one member of Cortes rose up to censure the expression of this opinion, from whence it must inevitably be concluded, that though they were not uttered, similar sentiments were very generally prevalent amongst the deputies, and consequently amongst the ministers.

Indeed, besides the deputies and ministers, there were not a few who thought that, in the whole tenor of his late conduct, the king exhibited a strange infirmity and inconsistency of purpose. In his interview with Bertrand de Lis, he described the intention of his Ministers, in removing him from Madrid, as having a double and a sinister object; yet, in a few days after he directed a speech to be transmitted in his name to Cortes, in which he said that his removal and that of the Cortes were essential to the safety of the country. He was deeply irritated against the ministers, and he dismissed them. Trembling, or affecting to tremble, at the miserable clamour that was raised under his windows, he restored those ministers; and as soon as his speech to the ordinary Cortes was read, he dismissed them again, by a decree, in which he said that they had complied with all their duties, and that he had every reason to be grateful to them for their services. Why then dismiss them? Was this not putting himself forward as a capricious, if not a culpable monarch, who would reward services of such acknowledged value by putting an end to them, at the very moment when they were most indispensable?

I am afraid that if the kingly office depended, or ought to depend, on the merits and capacity of the person whom the fortune of birth destines to exercise it, the exaltados of Spain would find several reasons for transferring the sceptre from the hands of Ferdinand VII. A pride of mind that

deemed the country, and all that inhabited it, created for his special use, and an imbecility of resolution that would be scarcely excusable in a boy, seemed likely to lead him into the most perilous embarrassments. March.

A few days after the opening of Cortes, M. San Miguel surprised Sir William A'Court, by asking him what were the precise conditions required by France, in case any questions should be put to him in Cortes. Sir William A'Court repeated to him the first conditions stated in Sir Charles Stuart's despatch of the 10th of February, and those mitigated ones contained in the same ambassador's despatch of the 21st February. According to San Miguel's request, an extract from the former despatch was sent to him. He observed that he should say nothing upon the subject, unless called upon by the Cortes; and that if any negotiations were entered into, "he would not be the person to negotiate." No explanation was ever given of this singular conversation, though it would lead to an inference, that, at that period, something was in agitation amongst the leading members in Cortes favourable to the hope that negotiations would be entered into. But whatever expectations were formed upon this point by the British minister, they were all put an end to very soon after, by a verbal or written declaration from M. San Miguel, that the Spanish government would not negotiate with France upon a basis which would seem to admit her pretensions to interfere in the internal affairs of the Peninsula*. 9th. 11th.

In the meantime, the indisposition of his Majesty was again represented by his physicians as incapacitating him for undertaking a journey. The ministers, however, having probably found that their regency plan was not likely to succeed, felt it no longer necessary to support these exag-

* Sir Wm. A'Court's despatches, March 9 and 11.

March. gerations, and four new physicians were called in, three of whom were of opinion, that the exercise of travelling would tend to alleviate his majesty's disease.

12th. Senor Galiano moved the Cortes, that the certificates of the different physicians should be referred to a special commission, in order to provide measures for facilitating the removal of the king, in a manner compatible with his majesty's health.

13th. Upon the report of this commission, it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to the king, to request his majesty to fix some day before the 18th for his removal from Madrid, in compliance with the decree already passed, as well as the declaration contained in his majesty's speech on the opening of the Cortes.

The answer which the king gave to this deputation was, that he would be ready to leave Madrid on the 17th, if circumstances should render it necessary; but if the Cortes should not think that any imperative necessity arose before the 20th, he would be glad if his departure could be deferred to that day. He added, that if, however, an occasion should arise which should render his departure expedient, he would be ready to go on any day, even before the 17th.

The Cortes signified their disposition to accommodate their wishes to those of his majesty; and accordingly the 20th was fixed for the departure of the government, keeping it in view, that if urgent circumstances should occur, that departure would be accelerated.

Intelligence of the entry of the French within the Spanish frontier was expected every day. The district, including Madrid, was declared in a state of war, and Count Abisbal, who acquired the commandancy-general of the district by his services in pursuing Bessieres, was named also political chief of the province.

A proclamation, without any date or signature, the object

of which was to point out to the inhabitants of Madrid the serious injuries they would suffer from the removal of the government, was circulated through the capital, for the purpose, no doubt, of exciting resistance against that measure. But it produced no effect. The inhabitants, generally, admitted the propriety of the removal, although they knew they must suffer by it in their different interests. Divisions, brought about by the masonic agents, arose in the society of the Communeros, which effectually frustrated the plans which some of its members had conceived for opposing the journey of the king. March.

It was doubted whether the treasury could obtain sufficient funds within the time appointed, to effect this important object. It was confidently stated that, in order to procure supplies, the government had recourse to proceedings of an extraordinary character: that they were obliged to melt down the king's plate; and that they seized on all the deposits of money which were in the hands of the junta of "public credit," pledging the treasury, of course, in both instances, to refund. This was not all. There is a society of sheep-owners established in Madrid whose interests are managed by a committee for the general benefit. The flocks are sent every year to pasture in Estremadura; and when the season comes, they are removed to the neighbourhood of Segovia and shorn. This society is called the Mesta, which literally means a code of regulations for the government of agricultural or pastoral transactions. The Mesta had a deposit with its bankers in Madrid of about a hundred thousand dollars. The Minister of the Interior sent an order to the bankers to deliver this deposit to officers, whom he named, upon the faith that the whole amount, together with the interest, should be re-paid. The chest in which the money was deposited had three locks, and only one of the keys was in

March. Madrid. The minister ordered the officers to bring away the chest itself, which accordingly was done.

By these and other means, the government succeeded in collecting a sum sufficient for the expenses of the journey; and it was finally arranged that the king and royal family should leave Madrid at eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th, and travel by short stages to Seville. Although this arrangement was generally known, the concourse of spec-
20th. tators on that morning, in the square of the palace, was far from being numerous. But there was a considerable crowd at the gate of Toledo, which leads directly to the Andalusian road, and through which it was generally understood the cavalcade would pass. This belief was confirmed by the guards, who attended at the gate from an early hour. Amongst the crowd there were, of course, persons of a thousand different sentiments, but all seemed dejected. They were mostly of the class of artists, tradesmen, shopkeepers, lodging-house keepers, and of those citizens who were likely to suffer severely in their different individual interests by the removal of the government. Several, also, of the families of those of the local militia, who volunteered to go with the king to Seville, were present to take a final farewell of their husbands, fathers, and other relatives, as they passed through the gate to join the escort which was stationed at some distance on the road.

In front of the palace, which looks toward the country, there is a private road appropriated solely to the use of the royal family, which opens, at a short distance from the palace, on the public way. At a quarter before eight the king and queen were removed from the palace in sedan chairs through the private road to the gate, which opened to the high road, where their carriage was waiting. The rest of the royal family followed in the same direction, their carriages being

also in waiting. A slight escort was stationed at the gate; March.
the main body, consisting of about 4,000 men, infantry and cavalry, was stationed on the road leading to Andalusia. They then drove rapidly round to the Andalusian road, attended by the great officers of state, and thus avoided passing through the gate of Toledo, where the crowd waited until nine o'clock, when they were informed that the king had left Madrid an hour before, and they dispersed quietly, though evidently disappointed.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ESCURIAL.

March. I HAD agreed with some friends to make a visit to the Escurial, which is seven leagues from Madrid. But it was so difficult to produce an agreement between all, as to the day and the mode of travelling, that I resolved to wait no
22d. longer. Accordingly I hired a horse and rode thither alone, though I was told that in doing so I encountered no trifling risk, as numberless murders and robberies had been perpetrated in that direction. The road, for the first three leagues after leaving Madrid, is wholly uninteresting, as it leads through a flat and desolate country. But after measuring that distance, you ascend a high mountain, from the top of which you have for the first time a view of the Escurial. Having crossed the ridge, you descend into a basin, surrounded on all sides by hills or mountains of the wildest aspect. The Guadarama, at some distance on the right, was covered with snow: the Sierras, between two of which stands the Escurial, were also mantled in snow, and black dense clouds were brooding upon their ridges. The basin or valley, covered with large stones and brushwood, offers so few signs of human cultivation, that it would almost seem as if man had never trod in it. It looks like the valley of death.

I instinctively stopped when I found myself alone in this desolate place; and on looking around I observed a peasant on the top of the mountain which I had just passed, hastening along the ridge. As soon as he perceived that I stopped, he lay down, as if for the purpose of concealing himself from

my view. He was dressed in a cloak and large hat, and my busy imagination led me to think that his appearance, his hurried step, a certain perturbation in his look, his being alone, and his desire not to be seen, were not indications of a character altogether pastoral. I rode on a little way, not seeming to pay any attention to his movements; and on looking back, I observed him on another part of the mountain, anxiously looking about as if waiting for some person, and now and then fixing his eyes upon that part of the road where I was. He again lay down, and uttered a low prolonged call, which I naturally thought might be for some assistance, as I was evidently the object of his attention. After doing so, he rose and ran round the brow of the mountain towards a point of the road where, if he arrived in time, he might have intercepted me. But I put spurs to my horse, and left him so far behind that he gave up the pursuit, and returned manifestly disappointed. The only other sign of man which I saw in this wild and mournful valley was a rude hut, thrown up by a party of charcoal burners, who had been recently engaged in charring brushwood. A round black spot near the hut indicated the nature of their operations. March.

As I approached the Escurial, the road improved; and on entering the first gate, which is about a league from the palace, I observed that a great deal of pains were taken to render the land on either side worthy of being included in the royal demesne. It is, however, so marshy and rocky, that it produces scarcely any thing but stunted trees. The beautiful and "sacred" bird, the stork, loves these scenes, and he may be often observed stalking amongst them in conscious security, and in all the pride of his snow-white plumage and long cornelian-coloured bill. It was quite a relief to me to meet a monk, dressed in a coarse dark grey habit, and large black hat, with the leaf so wide that both sides met

March. when turned, as they always are, over the crown, ambling quietly along upon a donkey, with a small bag of flour placed before him. His "buenos dias," "good morning," connected me once more with stirring life, and I hastened forward to the conclusion of my journey.

When I left Madrid, the morning was fine and warm, but here the atmosphere was chill, the blasts from the Guadarama piercingly cold. At the same time it began to rain in torrents, and vivid flashes of lightning burst from the clouds that hooded the ridges of the mountains, which were followed by hoarse and abrupt peals of thunder. I was wet to the skin, and was glad, at length, to find shelter in a posada in the village of Escurial, close by the palace.

After drying myself a little, I was conducted by a sort of guide to the convent, where he presented me to Padre Miguel, the monk who has the office of showing the curiosities of the place. He led me through the whole building; and, though his descriptions, from having been repeated so often, partook of the routine character of an exhibitor, and though, from long familiarity, he hastened through objects which I would have wished to contemplate a little longer, yet I was highly gratified, and more than repaid for my journey.

The edifice, popularly called "The Escurial," consists of a palace and a convent. But the title of palace belongs, in truth, more to the convent than to that part of the building which is appropriated to the royal residence. It unites a regal costliness and design with religious gloom: it is an abode fit for a kingly monk, who wished to withdraw occasionally from the cares of the throne, and to relieve or restrain the projects of an ambitious mind, by the solitude of the cloister and the affecting ceremonies of religion. To such an establishment a number of monks was necessary, in order that the hood and habit might give a character to the scene—that the royal solitary might have opportunities of

observing them move through the cloisters; that the high altar might be decorously served, the processions fully attended, the hymns and psalms chanted by an adequate choir, with the assistance of organs; and that the matin and vesper bells might soothe his wearied spirit. March.

Such a king was the founder of this royal monastery, Philip the Second, who dedicated it to St. Lorenzo, in consequence of a particular devotion which he paid to that martyr, and of his success in the memorable battle of St. Quintin against the French arms on the 10th of August, 1557, the festival of St. Lorenzo's martyrdom. In the plan of the convent that of a Pantheon was included, in pursuance of the will of the Emperor, Charles V., in which his remains, and those of the Empress, were deposited, in order that frequent masses might be said over their tombs for the repose of their souls. The edifice was begun in 1563 and finished in 1584. It stands in an elevated situation, between the declivities of two mountains which divide the two Castilles, and forms a rectangular parallelogram, measuring, from north to south; seven hundred and forty-four feet, and from east to west, five hundred and eighty. Its elevation is in due proportion: it is built chiefly of granite in the Doric order, the roofs covered with slates or lead, with the exception of the roof of the temple, which is of granite. The towers, domes, spires, gates, doors, and windows, are constructed with an uniformity which, upon the first view of the Escurial, gives it rather a heavy appearance. Its plan is in imitation of a gridiron, in reference to the torture suffered on that utensil by the martyr to whom the convent is dedicated. The royal residence forms the handle, and the feet are designated by the four towers in the corners of the edifice.

The original architect, Juan Bautista, avoided placing the four façades directly opposite the four points of the compass, in order to protect the building from the four cardinal

March. winds, which of all others are the strongest, and particularly so in this situation. The principal front, in which is the general entrance, looks towards the west. Over the gate is a statue of St. Lorenzo, vested as a deacon, and holding a book in his left hand, and in his right a gridiron of gilt bronze. The whole building consists of three principal parts: the first, which occupies the whole diameter of the parallelogram from west to east, comprehends the grand entrance, the patio or square of the kings, as it is called, and the temple: the second comprises the southern side, which is divided into four cloisters, and contains the cells of the conventual monks; and is therefore more particularly called the convent. The third part corresponds with the northern side, and is appropriated to the palace and two colleges.

On entering by the great western gate, the visitor finds himself in the square of the kings, so called from six statues of scriptural kings, which are in front of the temple. They are at least twice as large as life; and it is a curious circumstance, that the six statues, as well as that of St. Lorenzo, already mentioned, were cut out of the same block of stone. It is more curious still, that as much of the block yet remains as would furnish materials for seven more statues equally large.

Beneath these statues is the principal entrance to the temple, which is a very noble building, and impresses the mind with a stronger feeling of religious solemnity and awe than any sacred edifice I have ever seen. It consists of three aisles. In the middle aisle, over the principal entrance, is the choir, which looks towards the high altar; and at the sides are several small chapels. The roof is vaulted, and there are eight compartments of it exquisitely painted in fresco by Lucas Jordan. The most interesting subjects of these paintings are the conception; the birth of Christ and

adoration of the angels, and the prediction of the mysteries of our redemption by the four sibyls. The floor is formed of squares of white and grey marble, alternately arranged. The whole building is three hundred and twenty feet long by two hundred and thirty feet wide: the height in proportion. It is constructed of the best granite, and in the Doric order. March.

The aspect of the great altar, which is at the eastern side of the temple, is extremely imposing. It is ascended by nineteen steps of red-veined jasper marble, which elevate it to a majestic height. The altar-piece is composed of eighteen columns of red or green jasper, in the intervals between which are fifteen bronze statues gilt in fire, together with eight large and original paintings. The bases and capitals of the columns are of gilt bronze, and they form four compartments, which are in the four different orders of architecture—the Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and compound. Behind the great altar is the sacrarium, where the tabernacle is placed. This chamber is equivalent to the sanctum sanctorum of the Jewish temples, and is perfectly superb. The steps leading to the altar, on which the tabernacle reposes, are formed of jasper inlaid with white marble. The walls are painted in fresco with scriptural subjects, analogous to the ministry of the place—such as the Israelites gathering the manna, and the last supper. The custodia, which is now deposited there, is a small temple of gilt wood. The precious tabernacle, which formerly belonged to it, was taken away and broken up by the French. It enclosed a small custodia, which was ornamented with a profusion of gold and precious stones.

At each side of the great altar in the Temple are oratories for the king, and other members of the royal family. Over these oratories are two small and curious chapels; in each of which are five figures larger than life, of bronze gilt in

March. fire, which are said to be good resemblances of the royal personages whom they represent. The principal figure in the chapel, on the gospel side of the altar, is that of Charles V. in an imperial mantle, with his head uncovered. He is on his knees, his face turned towards the great altar, and his hands joined in the attitude of prayer. On his right-hand is the Empress Isabel; behind, his daughter Maria, also in an imperial mantle; and in order after her are Eleanora and Maria, sisters of the emperor. On the wall of this chapel there are several inscriptions, among them the following: "Hunc locum si quis posterorum Caroli V. habitam gloriam rerum gestarum splendore superaveris, ipse solus occupato, cæteri reverenter abstinete."—"If any of the posterity of Charles V. exceed in splendour the wonted glory of his achievements, do you alone occupy this place; all others reverently keep away."—In the chapel on the epistle side are figures of Philip II.; his fourth and last wife Ana; on his right-hand, behind her, his third wife Isabel; on her right his first wife Maria, Princess of Portugal, and her son Don Carlos behind her: all in the same material and attitudes as those on the opposite side. The Temple is decorated with forty paintings, including those of the great altar, by different masters.

When I entered the Temple, a few voices were engaged in singing the Litany of the Virgin; a simple and beautiful composition, in which the higher reeds of the organ were introduced occasionally with a charming effect. I stood listening to it with delight; and could not help acknowledging how innocently, and, I might add, how tastefully those voices were employed, in comparison with that intriguing and busy capital which I had so lately left. They appealed to the Virgin, as the "health of the weak," and "the comfortress of the afflicted," to pray for them. They hailed her as the "amiable and undefiled mother of the

Redeemer," as "the mirror of justice," the "seat of wisdom," the "mystical rose," and the "star of morning," by every name of tenderness and purity, to shield them with her mediation. March.

From the Temple Padre Miguel conducted me to the Pantheon, which is immediately under the great altar. We entered by a door of rich wood, and after descending a flight of twenty-five steps, we came to a landing-place, where is found the entrance to the principal staircase of the Pantheon. Over the door is a slab of black Italian marble, upon which is an inscription in letters of gilt bronze, importing that the vault is sacred to the mortal remains of the Catholic Kings; that it was directed to be constructed by Charles V., planned by Philip II., begun by Philip III., and finished by Philip IV. Over this marble, at each side, is a bronze figure of Italian workmanship; that on the right represents human nature as perished, in signification of which a crown is falling from her head, and a sceptre from her hand, and on a small tablet is written, *Natura occidit*. The other figure is Hope, signified by the inscription, *Exaltat spes*, and a torch of bronze. Passing through this superb entrance, we descended by a staircase of thirty-four marble steps, the landing-place, roof, and sides, cased with jasper marble highly polished, and hung with two massive bronze gilt candelabras. The Pantheon, where the remains are deposited, is a circular vault of thirty-six feet diameter by thirty-eight feet in height. The materials of which the Pantheon and chapel adjoining it are formed are jasper and other marble of fine polish, filled with ornaments of gilt bronze, in the composite order of architecture; and in all their parts the greatest uniformity and symmetry are observed. In the sides of the Pantheon, to which but a very feeble light is admitted, are twenty-six niches, in which are deposited as many sepulchral urns of black marble, with bronze gilt

March. mouldings, supported on lions' claws of bronze; and in the front of each is a bronze gilt plate, on which are inscribed the name and titles of the persons whose remains it encloses. The relics mouldering here are those of the Emperor Charles V., of Philip II., Philip IV., Charles II., Luis I., Charles III., Charles IV., the Empress Isabel, Ana, fourth wife of Philip II., Margarita, only wife of Philip III., Isabel of Bourbon, first wife of Philip IV., Maria Ana of Austria, second wife of Philip IV., Maria Luisa of Savoy, first wife of Philip V., Maria Amalia of Saxony, only wife of Charles III., Maria Luisa of Bourbon, only wife of Charles IV. In this principal Pantheon only crowned kings are interred, and such queens as continued the succession. The other queens, together with the princes and princesses, are deposited in another less splendid and more crowded vault, which is called the Pantheon of the Infantes.

It is not unworthy of remark, that although the construction of a sepulchral chamber for the remains of his august progenitor, his own, and those of other kings his successors, was one of the principal objects which induced Philip II. to build the Escurial, yet he gave his attention chiefly to the monastery. The original vault which he had constructed was a small one of common stone, without light or ornament, with a dark, narrow, winding staircase. This defect he acknowledged when he said, that "he had raised a habitation for GOD, and that his son might, if he wished, make one for his bones and those of his fathers." Such a splendid burial-place as this of the Escurial is, however, ill calculated to inculcate veneration or respect for those departed monarchs whose relics it contains. There is a palpable inconsistency between the solidity, beauty, and gilding of the materials without, and those frail, deformed, and wasted bones which no earthly power can re-animate. No human vanity can be more pitiable than that of seeking to give an eternity of

preservation to particles of dust, which were put into order and symmetry only for the fleeting purposes of this life. March.

From the Pantheon we ascended to the principal library, which is situated over the porch in the square of the kings, and occupies a great extent on that side of the building. The floor is of white and grey marble, and the ceiling is admirably painted in fresco with subjects analogous to the place. In one compartment Philosophy is showing the terraqueous globe to Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Seneca, all in colossal figures; and below the cornice is the school of Atenas, divided into the two sects of Stoics and Academics. In another, Grammar enthroned on clouds, surrounded by children with books and papers in their hands, presents to them a wreath of flowers to excite emulation. Beneath the cornice the sons of Noah are seen building the tower of Babel, where God confounded their language, and gave them different dialects; and on the opposite side is represented the first school that was ever formed in the world, as far as we know, in which, by order of Nebuchodonosor, the Israelite and Chaldean boys were collected, in order to learn the Babylonian idiom, and other sciences. A third compartment is assigned to Rhetoric, in which are introduced Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Quintilian. Cicero is pleading for Rabirius, accused of treason, and the painting represents the emotions which his eloquence kindles in the hearts of the judges, and the liberation of the prisoner. Arithmetic, dialectics, music, geometry, astronomy, and theology, have each their separate compartments, and the *tout ensemble* is magnificent. Along the middle of the room are ranged seven tables, two of porphyry, and the other five of marble, which sustain spheres, terrestrial and celestial globes, according to different systems. The book-cases are ranged on both sides, between the windows, and contain printed books in all languages. They are mostly bound in parchment;

March. upon their edges, which are all gilt, the titles are written, and for this reason, as well as for that of enabling the librarian to take them out and put them in again with greater facility, the books are placed with the edges outwards. Amongst the curiosities of this library is preserved with much care a large folio volume, in which the four Gospels, and certain productions of the holy fathers, are written in letters of gold. It was commenced by direction of the Emperor Conrad, and finished in the time of his son, Henry II., and is, therefore, at least seven hundred and eighty years old; yet the letters appear as fresh as if they were recently executed. The pages are beautifully illuminated. Another curious volume is also shown, which contains the Apocalypse exquisitely written. At the beginning of each chapter there is an illuminated representation of its contents.

Over this library there is another apartment equally extensive, which is chiefly appropriated to manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Latin, and other languages. Amongst these are several very ancient Bibles in different languages, particularly a Greek copy a little injured, which belonged to the Emperor Cantacuene, and is said to agree very closely with that of the seven interpreters. *Not the least curious of these treasures is an Alcoran. The total number of the manuscripts is at present estimated at four thousand; and of printed books, in both libraries, at twenty-four thousand. Their number was at one time considerably greater, but several of the former were consumed in a destructive fire which occurred in the Escurial in 1671; and when the intrusive king was in Madrid, he ordered the printed books to be removed to the convent of the Trinity in that capital. Upon the restoration, they were conveyed back to the Escurial, but upwards of ten thousand were found missing.

From the libraries we descended to the Sacristy, which, estimating it by the treasures it contains in paintings, may

be considered the most valuable apartment in the building. March.
Amongst these are several works of Leonardo da Vinci, Carlo Veronese, Titian, Raphael, Guido, and the Spanish Raphael, Murillo. It would have required at least a week to examine these, and all the other paintings in the convent, with the attention which they deserve; but there is one picture in the Sacristy, which, from its divine execution, claims particular notice. It is called La Perla, or The Pearl, as indicative of its superiority to all the others. It is five feet high, by three and three quarters wide. The Virgin has her right hand around the Child, who is sitting in her lap, and rests one leg on the right knee of his mother; the other being extended, the foot gently presses the little blankets in a cradle, out of which he appears to have been just taken, glowing with life and infantile loveliness. The left hand of the Virgin rests on the shoulder of St. Anne, who is upon her knees near her. The infant St. John is offering some fruits, in his garment of camel-skin, and the boy-God makes a motion to take them, at the same time turning his laughing face to his mother, who is looking on St. John. On one side of the picture is seen an opening of light in the horizon, in front of which is a river, a town, and various little figures. On the other side there are ruins of an edifice, in the shade of which St. Joseph stands contemplating this beauteous scene. It is painted on pannel by Raphael, and for its better preservation it is usually covered with a green silk curtain, which is drawn aside by the father, when he wishes to show the greatest ornament of his convent.

In the southern front of this Sacristy is preserved with great devotion, and amidst sumptuous ornaments, a consecrated host, the history of which is said to be as follows. At some period, not well ascertained, in the sixteenth century, a party of Zuinglian dissenters entered the cathedral church of Gorcum, in Holland, threw this host on the ground, and

March. repeatedly trampled upon it, whence it was rent in three places. Whilst they were yet trampling upon it, one of the Zuinglians perceived that blood came forth from the three rents, which may still be seen. He was struck with such a strange appearance, and went out to communicate it to the dean. Both proceeded to the church, and taking up the host with fearful respect, they carried it to Malines, where they deposited it in a convent of Franciscan friars. There it remained for a length of time, greatly venerated. From thence it was transferred to Vienna, and afterwards to Prague, where it remained for eleven years, until Philip II. obtained it from Rhodolphus II. Emperor of Germany. It was deposited amongst the relics in the Temple, until Charles II. erected a peculiar altar for it in the Sacristy, whither it was removed in 1684. Upon the invasion of the French, the monks, fearful that the enemy would profane it, concealed it in one of the cellars of the monastery, where it remained until the liberation of the country, when it was restored to the altar, where it is still preserved. Although such a length of time has elapsed since its original preparation, it is yet as free from corruption as if it were but just consecrated. Such is the history of the "Santa Forma," as it is piously called by the monks, and they believe it to be true.

Besides the sacristy, there are the principal lower cloisters, the chapter hall, the prior's hall, the vicar's-hall, the old chapel, the principal upper cloister, the hall of morality, and other apartments, in which there are upwards of two hundred and fifty pictures, very many of them by the best Italian and Spanish masters. I had not time to take more than a hasty view of so many works, and shall, therefore, omit any further notice of them.

One of the most magnificent things in the convent is the principal staircase. It is composed of two parallel flights of steps, each step being formed out of a single

block of stone. The vaulted roof with its fine fresco paint- March.
ings is, however, the great object of a stranger's attention. In the middle is a representation of the Trinity seated on a throne of splendid clouds, and surrounded by hosts of angels. On one side are the virgin and other saints with the insignia of the Passion. Lower down are St. Lorenzo and several princes and kings. Charles V., in his imperial robes, is seen presenting the crown of Germany in one hand, and that of Spain in the other, and behind him is Philip II. with a globe in his hand. Below the cornice is an animated representation of the battle of St. Quintin, the history of which occupies a portion of three sides of this lofty hall. On the southern side are seen the shock and struggle of the contending armies, the fire and the smoke of the powder, the slaughter and rout of the French infantry, the confusion of their cavalry, the capture of Constable Montmorency, general of the French army, and also that of his son, together with other French nobles. At the western side are represented the situation and neighbourhood of St. Quintin, the conflagration of its towers and buildings, the capture of its fort by assault, and the havoc and precipitate flight of its inhabitants. On the northern side is a great number of banners by the side of the admiral who defended the fortress, who, together with many others on foot and on horseback, are brought prisoners before Filibert, duke of Savoy, and captain-general of the Spanish army. On the eastern side are Philip II. and the principal architects of the building, who are explaining to him the plan of the Escurial, and near them are various workmen, some digging the foundations, some carrying stones and mortar to the scaffolds, and others employed with wheels, cranes, pulleys, and other instruments.

After going through the convent, there is little either in

March. the palace or the college which can detain a visitor, and he passes through them with a feeling that they are scarcely worth seeing.

In passing through the cloisters, I met several of the monks, who appeared to be religious and austere men. I know not whether they had been much affected by the severe exercises and fasts of the Lent, which was now within a week of its expiration, but they did not look as if they were accustomed to luxurious living. I understood that they were in number from forty to fifty, and that they were reduced to subsist upon a very slender pittance by the new regulations of the Cortes. I confess I strongly sympathised with those who signified (though they did so in a reserved and timid manner) their heartfelt regret that their convent was included amongst those which were directed to be suppressed. The Cortes were only waiting to give their final fiat upon this subject, until they should be able to determine to what purposes they might apply the building. In truth, from the situation of the Escurial, it is fit for no other purpose than that of a monastery, and even if it were, it would have been little short of a sacrilege against taste and the arts, to change its original destination.

I was invited to attend the high mass on the following morning, Palm Sunday, and having remained in the convent until the night came on, I took my leave of Padre Miguel, after making him a trivial present for his trouble, and returned to my posada. This little inn was originally fitted up for the accommodation of such visitors as might go to see the Escurial, and was by no means to be despised. The sitting-room looks to the Escurial; it is lined with purple silk, and decorated with highly rouged prints of ancient ladies of the court. The patrona had nothing to give me for dinner but a pigeon and some eggs, and a bottle of

rather indifferent red wine; raisins and toasted almonds, as usual, were the dessert. March.

The wind continued to blow hard all the evening, and the windows rattled so much that I thought every moment they must be forced in. Every door in the house, every window, and I believe the very walls, admitted the piercing blast, against which neither fire nor covering afforded a counteraction. I opened the shutters to take another view of the Escurial before I retired to rest. The moon shone at intervals, through humid clouds which flitted beneath it, and threw a melancholy light upon the spires and towers of the convent. Within that edifice then lay the remains of that ambitious and successful Emperor Charles V. who, fatigued with the weight of empire, closed his days in another monastery. Where now was that voice whose sound once dictated laws to the whole continent? How nerveless and decayed those limbs which once endured so many hardships! And near him sleeps that strange compound of ignorance and taste, of ambition and devotion, of splendour and meanness, his son Philip the Second! For both, religion had terrors, which both sought to appease; and, under the hope that the prayers of holy men might secure their souls from those punishments with which their crimes in life threatened them, they took shelter in death under the altar. Had they but taken half the pains to perform good actions, which they took to atone for bad ones—had they improved their laws and encouraged the industry of their people in legitimate channels, instead of corrupting them with projects of ambition, and pampering them into a barbarous luxury with the blood-stained spoils of the Americas, they might have secured a peaceful termination of life, and a bright hope of that new existence to which the grave is a portal.

I returned to the convent in the morning at nine o'clock. Soon after that hour the ceremony of blessing the palms

March. commenced, which was celebrated by the prior, attended by a deacon, subdeacon, master of the ceremonies, and six boys dressed in surplices. The remainder of the monks were ranged along the aisle. When the palms were blessed, they were distributed first among the monks, and next amongst the people of the village who were present. The prior, monks, and people, then went round the cloisters, in procession, bearing these palm branches in their hands, and singing anthems which referred to the entry of Christ into Jerusalem. The procession being over, high mass was commenced. The history of the Passion, which formed part of the service of the day, was sung by four monks at the gospel side of the altar. The prefatory and concluding sentences were sung in four parts, with a precision, harmony, and softness, which gave the performance peculiar solemnity and grace.

Had my time permitted, I would have gladly remained at the Escurial during the holy week, to have witnessed the Tenebræ—to have heard the lamentations of Jeremias chanted in this fine temple, and to have attended those various ancient and imposing ceremonies which the Catholic church celebrates during this season of its mourning. But I was obliged to return to Madrid, where I arrived on Sunday night.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEPARTURE OF THE CORTES.—INTELLIGENCE FROM THE PROVINCES.—JOURNEY TO SEVILLE.

A FEW days after the departure of the king, the president and the secretaries of the Cortes, the greater number of the deputies, together with the ministers of state and finance, set out for Seville. They were escorted by a column of five or six hundred infantry, and a small body of cavalry. A few persons were collected at the gate of Toledo to see them pass. March. 24th.

Count Abisbal remained the supreme ruler of Madrid, and thus far his ambition was gratified. From most of the provinces the intelligence clearly indicated the approaching subversion of the existing system. The last conscription went on in the most torpid manner, and out of every fifty of the horses which had been seized for the use of the cavalry, forty-five had been found unfit for service. A small sum, five or six pounds, was allowed by government for each horse—that is, a treasury order to that amount was given in lieu of money. Those who possessed valuable horses removed them, and substituted for them broken down defective animals, not worth a dollar, and thus a traffic had been carried on in which the government was generally the loser.

In Gallicia, the youths called out for the conscription openly refused to repair to their destinations, and a spirit of insubordination to the general mandates of the constitutional authorities prevailed there, which the force under Quiroga was quite inadequate to put down. Similar, if not greater resistance was experienced by the civil and military

March. authorities in the province of Bilbao. In order to avoid the conscription, as well as the requisition for horses, the people abandoned their houses and fields; agriculture was neglected, industry paralyzed, and commerce inactive. The opponents of the Constitution, every where in that province, carried on their exactions and combinations in the most public manner, nor had the "allocutions," as they were styled, of the political chief, the least influence.

Hitherto the province of Asturias had scarcely been heard of amidst the agitations of the other parts of Spain. It had been remarkable neither for any exhibitions of attachment or resistance to the Constitution. By the last accounts, however, from that province, it appeared that Oviedo, the capital of the Asturias, had risen against the system, and that there were no troops there to support it.

Intelligence arrived also stating that Ulman had made himself master of Murviedro, the ancient Saguntum of the Romans, and a most important fortress, as it commands Valencia, and the fruitful district in its neighbourhood as far as the Ebro.

Several of the militia of Madrid, who, in the fervour of their enthusiasm, volunteered to escort the king to Seville, had already returned. They were fatigued with the marches of the two first days, and on the road they found nothing to eat, no beds, no comfort of any sort. Such privations, however common to military life, suited but little with the feelings of the homely tradesmen of Madrid, who were accustomed to good beds and a sufficiency of diet.

It was beginning to be felt that the removal of the government was likely to have an effect upon all the northern provinces of Spain which no one hitherto had calculated. The public spirit even in Madrid had already declined very much. If this were true, speaking of the capital, which had made such a show of attachment to the

Constitution, what was to be expected of those towns and provinces in which the same political fervour did not exist? March.

As soon as it was decided that the government would remove to Seville, I had determined to proceed thither, and with that view engaged a place in the diligence. This convenient and expeditious vehicle had been established on this road within the last year, and was the first of its kind which has had the good fortune to sustain its career against the resentments and combinations of the proprietors of posadas and berlinas, whose interests were considerably injured by such an innovation. The berlinas are a species of vehicle not unlike a London hackney-coach, but of a more antiquated form, drawn by seven mules, and as the same animals perform the whole journey of eighty-eight leagues, they are usually from ten to twelve days on the road. The diligence, by the aid of frequent changes, accomplishes the journey in four days and a half. The same company have diligences upon the road to Valencia, which, in addition to the common obstacles of old interests in Spain, have to struggle against the difficulties of a barbarous road.

Travelling by these vehicles is as yet rather dear in Spain, compared with France and England, and indeed necessarily so, as they are attended with great expense, being escorted by armed men a considerable part of the road, and the Spaniards not having been yet so much accustomed to them, as to sacrifice a little more money in order to gain time. Many as yet prefer the old mode of waggons and berlinas, by which they pay less, and indulge their unfortunate propensity to laziness. In a few years more great changes will doubtless be wrought in this respect. Upon quitting the office, we found that all the places were engaged up to the 20th of April. The price for a seat inside is forty-five dollars, in the cabriolet, which holds two, thirty-eight dollars. Besides this expense, the

March. traveller pays three dollars and a half for the postillions, and two to the mayoral, or conducteur, when he arrives at the end of his journey. In this charge, of course, living and beds are not included.

26th. We quitted Madrid with seven mules, by the gate of Atoche, and soon after passed over the bridge of Toledo, which is superfluously magnificent, considering that the Manzanares, over which it is built, is a shallow stream, which in summer is dry. The road is excellent, its sides planted with trees, which were just beginning to bud. The country on either hand flat, open, and well cultivated; the slender stream of the Manzanares was seen winding its course on the left hand at some distance, and beyond it a ridge of hill which stretched along the country, parallel with the river. In about two hours we passed by the Hermitage of Los Angeles, a convent situated on the top of a hill. Behind it we observed, for the first time, a small tract of olive grounds, which afterwards presented themselves frequently to our view, particularly on the hills, which were mostly covered with them. The olive trees were in full leaf, but the vines, which were intermixed with them, presented no signs as yet of returning verdure. Passed by the village of Pinto, situated at some distance on the right hand, in an agreeable plain. The fields around it, though evidently scarce of water, abound in oil and wine. It is said to be the most central part of Spain. Shortly after we observed several small villages, and at the distance of a league passed by Valdemoros, or the Valley of the Moors, a town which was formerly celebrated for its trade, and for having been for some time the residence of Moorish kings, its founders. Its vicinity is rich in wheat, oil, and wine.

Soon after we overtook several convoys of waggons, filled with baggage and travellers, and about six o'clock in the evening we entered the valley of Aranjuez. This valley

presents one of the richest and most agreeable prospects which I have seen in Spain. The river Jarama wanders through it in a serpentine course, and its whole extent, which is considerable, preserves all the year round a smiling verdure. The road through it, for the distance of nearly a league, is thickly bordered with double rows of lofty elms, in which when the spring advances, and forms a genial shade, the nightingales take up their residence, and utter their soothing melodies, not only at evening time, but all the day long. Many of the trees were already in young leaf. We passed the Jarama by a handsome bridge, which was built in the reign of Charles III., and has a raised footway, flagged on each side. Here we were in a situation to admire all the beauty of this valley, the a palace, and town, in the distance, and around us green fields, gardens, shady walks, meadows, and woods, beginning to acknowledge the influence of the season. Pursuing our way to the town, we crossed the river Tagus by a wooden bridge, and entered Aranjuez. The palace appeared on the right, much in the style of a French chateau, very handsomely situated, the river Tagus passing immediately in front of it, and forming a cascade, whose murmurs must form one of the greatest luxuries of the place in the parching heats of a Spanish summer. The nature of our vehicle did not, of course, permit us to visit the palace or the gardens attached to it. The latter are famous for their extent, and the ingenious industry which has been bestowed upon them. They were, however, now falling to decay, for the king had not the same facility of visiting Aranjuez as formerly, nor the same means of keeping it in repair. What intrigues, conspiracies, and vices had not this palace witnessed, and how just appeared this visitation of melancholy and poverty which stripped it of all its regal pride!

March.

We had already met, at a post where we changed horses,

March. an officer travelling alone in a caleche, who told us that he had been robbed of all his luggage and money, with the exception of a gold doubloon, which he concealed from the brigands. As we passed through the valley of Aranjuez, the mayoral addressed a carrier, who informed him that his convoy, consisting of eight waggons, was also plundered of several things near Ocana, and that the whole of the road to Seville was infested with bands of robbers. This was no very agreeable intelligence for us, particularly as there was yet no guard with the diligence, the night was closing in upon us, and we were ascending a mountainous country. It was, however, a fine moonlight night, and we arrived at Ocana at eight o'clock.

Ocana is a considerable town, of about 1500 inhabitants. Our dinner consisted of egg-soup, stewed mutton, roast fowls, and dessert of almonds and raisins. The wine was good, and the charge for the whole, including our beds, was moderate, not exceeding sixteen reals. The beds, indeed, were dear at any price, for they were the declared enemies of rest, for reasons too numerous to mention. Our whole company, consisting of two deputies of Cortes, a councillor of state, a member of the admiralty and his son, an editor of one of the public journals, and myself, were huddled together in one apartment, shortly after nine o'clock, and at twelve we were recalled to renew our journey. Besides the badness of the beds, there was a mill going all night in an out-house near our apartment, grinding flour, so that most of us deferred all hope of sleep until we resumed our seats in the diligence.

27th. We left Ocana at half-past twelve at night, the moon shining clearly; the road excellent, if it were not the haunt of robbers. We slept, however, till four o'clock, when we arrived at Tembleque. Here we stopped for half an hour at a tolerably good posada, where we took chocolate, for which we paid two reals each. From Tembleque to Ma-

dridejos the country is flat, but very fertile, the corn growing to the very edge of the wheels of the vehicle. From Ocana to Tembleque is a distance of five leagues; from Tembleque to Madridejos four. Tembleque is about half the size of Ocana, and Madridejos half that of Tembleque. In either of them there is nothing worthy of notice, with the exception that at the latter place we observed, for the first time, humble imitations of the more elegant *patios*, which are so common in the south of Spain. The *patio* is a small square, open to the sky, round which each house is constructed. At Madridejos we saw several of the inhabitants sitting in this part of their dwelling, pursuing their several household occupations. In the church, which was dark and inelegant, attendants were making preparations for the procession and deposit of the host, which forms, to Spanish minds, one of the most interesting spectacles of the whole religious year. It was Holy Thursday, which, as well as Good Friday, are observed in every part of Spain as holydays; and hence we saw the inhabitants every where to advantage, as they were dressed in their best attire. At this place we were surrounded by a number of beggars, each of whom demanded charity in a tone exactly similar, particularly the children, who are trained up to this indolent mode of living. Here whatever reports we had heard of the road being infested by robbers were confirmed; and, indeed, we were plainly told that our chance of escaping from their depredations was next to an impossibility. March.

We left Madridejos after breakfast, at nine o'clock. Our road lay through olive trees and vines for some part of the way. Before us was a *sierra*, or group of mountains, whose declivities, as well as the plains at their feet, were covered with olives. These trees are usually planted in regular lines; they are short, and shoot forth numerous branches, which are

March. seldom without leaves, not exactly of a grass-green hue, but rather of a deep slate colour. They can scarcely be said to form picturesque objects, because they are too regularly planted; but from the richness and general usefulness of their produce, they are always agreeable to the eye. Soon after leaving Madridejos we came up with a convoy, consisting of seventy-five covered waggons, eight or ten private carriages, *calesinas*, and other vehicles, which joined company for mutual safety. There were with them two or three companies of the Madrid local militia, some of whom appeared sufficiently fatigued; others were riding on donkies and old Rozinantes, which they picked up on the road. After passing this convoy, we overtook, at ten o'clock, the Deputies of Cortes, and beyond these two regiments of troops and militia, so that altogether the road from Madridejos, for nearly three leagues, to Puerto Lapiche, was quite gay with military and equipages. It would have been difficult for so great a number of travellers to obtain provisions on the road, but most of them carried with them their own wine, meat, and kitchen utensils. Those who travelled in the covered waggons slept in them also, and occasionally amused themselves with guitars. As for the soldiers, they must have bivouacked, unless where they were fortunate enough to obtain a roof to sleep under; and then they may have been well contented with the hard floor for a bed, and a knapsack for a pillow.

We passed over a group of mountains, among which some soldiers were straggling; and as we approached Puerto Lapiche, we were met by two armed men, who came out to escort the diligence. They ran all the way by the side of the vehicle, though their activity at this time was scarcely necessary, as there were so many soldiers at hand. We met also the Ayuntamiento of the place, consisting of five vil-

lagers, coming out to receive the Deputies. Puerto Lapiche March.
is situated between two hills; here we left the province of Toledo, in which we had been travelling since we entered the valley of Aranjuez, and we proceeded into the province of Ciudad Real, according to the new division, and forming a part of the old province of La Mancha, the country of Don Quixote. I naturally looked about for windmills here, but could discover no more than one or two, both of which might have existed since the time of Cervantes. At a short distance we met two more armed pedestrians, who escorted us through some thick olive grounds, which had the name of being dangerous to travellers; and we arrived at Villarte, at half-past eleven in the forenoon. Villarte was formerly a considerable town, but it was made a heap of ruins by the French, on account of the resistance which they experienced from its inhabitants. They unroofed the houses, and shattered their walls with grape shot; and since then few of the houses have been rebuilt. The remnant of the town, as it now stands, wears a most miserable aspect.

Late in the afternoon we arrived at Manzanares, a rich and handsome town of about sixteen hundred inhabitants, situated on the banks of the river Azuel, enjoying a delicious climate. The procession of the day had been over some hours, and we found all the inhabitants out, some fishing in the river, some walking on its green banks, and others standing in the streets. The country, after leaving Puerto Lapiche, was generally flat on both sides of the way, well cultivated with wheat; hills and mountains in the distance, which appeared to be unproductive. As we approached Valdepenas, so celebrated in all Spain for its red wine, we found it seated in a valley, whose bosom teemed with oil, wine, and wheat. Even the hills in its neighbourhood were green with cultivation—a rare spectacle in the Peninsula. The sky was shaded with thin, humid clouds, which seemed

March. to shed fecundity on the earth beneath. Here we met the warm genial spring advancing with rapid strides to the northern climates. The fields and benignant heavens seemed to emulate each other in blessing the industry of man.

On entering the town, we found it full of people, who were attracted thither by the religious ceremonies of the day, as well as by the presence of the King, who rested here during this solemn festival. His Majesty and the Queen were lodged in a tolerably good house; the Infantes and their consorts were also pretty well accommodated, considering the occasion. In the course of the evening a procession moved through the streets, and their majesties, as well as the other members of the royal family, presented themselves during its progress at their respective balconies. The King was dressed in a plain black coat and star, and looked indisposed. The Queen, whose beauty has made her a general favourite, looked very well. There was a great deal of bustle, on account of the multitude of the people and soldiers; but I observed no signs of enthusiasm, either with respect to the presence of the King, or the object of his journey.

Valdepenas contains upwards of two thousand inhabitants, has a fine square, and a tolerably good parochial church. Its chief support is its famous wine, which is kept in large stores. There was scarcely any thing for us to eat at the posada, except eggs and raisins, all the other fare having been consumed by the King and his numerous escort. We had travelled twenty-three leagues in the course of the day, or ninety-two English miles, which was no bad journey in Spain; consequently we were well prepared to take whatever we could get. The bread was peculiarly excellent, and the wine genuine Valdepenas; such wine as cheered the heart to so great a degree, that if a man had it always near him to drink when he chose, a tear would never be seen on his

cheek—no, to borrow the cordial eulogy of Homer, not even "though his father and mother were dead, or his brother or his son had fallen in battle before his eyes *." March.

We succeeded to the table at which the ministers had just dined, and were glad to find that they had beds in a private house, as we were thus all accommodated. In a long passage near our apartment, twenty or thirty cavalry soldiers slept in their uniforms and boots on the floor, a row on each side. As we passed backward and forwards through them, we were obliged to pick our steps among their stretched-out feet. One or two were sitting up, seeming to despair of sleep; and one was most industriously singing, resolved, as he could not sleep himself, that none of his companions should enjoy that sweet forgetfulness. He was at last wearied out, and soldiers, travellers, and all, sunk in slumber.

My companions and I were awoke at half-past one o'clock in the night, or rather in the morning, by our mayoral, and we soon after set out from Valdepenas. We passed through Santa Cruz de Mudela, a considerable village; and in two hours after through Almuradiel, distant three leagues from Valdepenas. Almuradiel is one of a number of new villages which were built in this and other parts of the country farther on, where the new road is made through the mountains of the Sierra Morena, which we were now about to ascend. 28th.

* Odyssey, iv. 220—226. Pope, in his translation, amplifies the poet's idea in his usual manner:

> Charmed with that potent draught, the exalted mind
> All sense of woe delivers to the wind:
> Though on the blazing pile his parent lay,
> Or a loved brother groaned his life away,
> Or darling son, oppressed by ruffian force,
> Fell breathless at his feet a mangled corse;
> From morn to eve, impassive and serene,
> The man entranced would view the deathful scene.

March. Before the reign of Charles III. the Sierra Morena was celebrated for its numerous and desperate bands of robbers, but that enlightened and active monarch peopled the mountains with industrious inhabitants, mostly Germans, whom he invited thither. After passing this village, and traversing small hills for the space of two leagues, we arrived at the Venta de Cardenas, where the Sierra Morena begins. By a venta is generally understood an inn which stands alone on the road, at a distance from other houses; if it were joined to other houses, as in a village, it would be called a posada. The Venta of Cardenas consists of a single long building, the central part of which, together with one of the sides, is given up to waggons, carriages, and mules; in the other side there are some small bed-rooms, a kitchen, and other apartments. The interior of the roof was almost wholly occupied with swallows' nests, and the birds animated this solitary place by their unceasing activity and song.

We were here at the commencement of the Sierra Morena, the scene of that beautiful episode in Don Quixote, which has served as the ground-work for the popular drama of the Mountaineers. The mountains had not as yet increased to any considerable height; they were here rocky and covered with shrubs, though here and there they presented patches of green pasture. After taking chocolate we proceeded on our way, and soon began to ascend high mountains, through which we found a superb road. In some places a high wall was built up from the bottom of a precipice, to support the road which winds along its brow; in others, the rocks on one side have been hewn to afford sufficient breadth. The first ascent of these mountains is what is called the pass of the Sierra Morena. The road winds through lofty rocks, is in some places narrow, and at every point so exposed to the neighbouring heights, that a few brave guerilla parties might stop the progress of a host of enemies. The road every

moment ascends, and as it must traverse the very tops of the mountains, it follows as much as possible their natural windings, so that one part is in some places, for a considerable length, parallel to the other. The ascent is so great, that travellers and carriers, whom we had just passed on the lower road, appeared suddenly divested of half their proper size. It was still the grey of morning, and here and there we observed a number of men sitting or sleeping around fires made in some recesses of the rocks. A lone and strange traveller would have felt no small alarm on encountering these groups in such a dangerous place as the Sierra Morena. We soon learned from the implements which we saw near them, and the earlier activity of some of their companions, that they were employed in repairing the road for the passage of the king. Where it was rough for a carriage they strewed it thickly with clay, and broke down all the prominent stones which might have given shocks to the royal invalid. March.

As the sun rose we found several groups of men thus employed, and met their wives and children riding towards them on donkies with provisions for the day. The mother and two children were sometimes crowded on the same donkey, one carrying the basket of bread, another a goat-skin of wine, and the third for company, or haply from fear of staying at home alone. We encountered also in these mountains several hundreds of donkies laden with oil, which was contained in skins. For these animals there are several by-roads not larger than footpaths, which shorten their way in those places where the high road takes a circuitous course. As we were ascending a height, the postillion having dismounted, the mayoral having also left his seat, and both walking behind the diligence, the mules suddenly set off at a round trot, and one of the leaders, as if impelled by a mischievous purpose, deviated into one of the by-paths above

March. mentioned, which descended into a deep and precipitous valley. The passengers cried out, and had the mayoral delayed half a minute longer in running to check the career of the mule, the diligence, and every person it contained, must inevitably have been dashed to pieces.

After ascending for two or three hours, we at length surmounted the loftiest tops of the Sierra Morena, and changed horses at another of the new villages, called Santa Elena. Here, and for some time previous to our ascent thither, the mountains were all green with shrubs and pastures: near Santa Elena beans and corn were growing in abundance. It enjoys an agreeable situation and a balmy air. The road hitherto had been mountainous, and the prospect necessarily limited. But after leaving Santa Elena we had an open horizon, and a highly interesting country. On the left-hand the eye roamed over the tops of lesser mountains, and searched their beautiful valleys, green with meadows, or wheat far advanced, or planted with the olive and vine. On the same side the distance was bounded by a lofty range of high mountains—the mountains of Granada, whose tops were covered with snow.

This view, diversified at every turn of the road, we enjoyed for two leagues, until we arrived at Carolina at half-past ten in the forenoon. The entrance to this town is between two towers: its streets are wide, and one of them handsomely planted on both sides with trees, which enclose small gardens in front of the houses. The trees were all in leaf, and tenanted with birds. The balconies were adorned with flowers. The Plaza of the Constitution is large, and the gay appearance of the town, together with its agreeable situation, rendered it altogether one of the pleasantest places through which we had travelled. The mansion which was prepared for the reception

of the king was furnished in front with a number of lamps, March.
which consisted of small earthen vessels, like shallow butter-boats without the handle, and were attached to the pillars and wall by lumps of mortar, in which they were inserted. The militia were in the town loitering about, waiting for the day of the king's arrival. The authorities were all in their best attire. We had the agreeable intelligence here, that innumerable robberies were committed on the road; among them, that Saavedra and Galiano, two deputies, were plundered of fifteen ounces of gold.

We left Carolina at noon by a road lined, for a considerable distance, with trees on each side, and with hedges thickly planted with the American aloes and the prickly pear. Within the hedges were olive grounds and fields of wheat: the whole country teemed with verdure, and we found ourselves quite in a new territory. We passed through Carboneros and Guarroman, both new villages; the country open and unequal, but the valleys all burdened with wheat, the hills with olives, and some spots of pasture spread with the "early daisy." The mountains of Granada still towered in sight, and the intense rays of the sun being intercepted by light humid clouds, which veiled the whole of the horizon, our course was for some miles delightful.

Near Bailen the country became less interesting, but not less fertile, and we passed out of the Sierra Morena. Bailen is an old village of about a thousand inhabitants: after leaving it, we ascended through a heathy country; to the right, in the distance, dark barren mountain, before us green hills covered with olives. Crossed the Rio de las Piedras (river of stones), by a narrow bridge, whose battlements are as yet half wood. The river seems to be so called from its toiling through a gravelly bed, its course being frequently interrupted by large rocks, that appear to have been washed by many a winter torrent. Drove on through olive grounds so

March. thickly wooded, that they might afford abundant shelter to robbers. Still ascending, on the left, in the distance, a ridge of green hill cultivated to the top, and backed by the mountains of Granada, which were now so far away, that they assumed the indistinctness of clouds. We then travelled over a wild heath, where no sign of human habitation was to be seen all round, except now and then a solitary house in the recesses of the distant hills, and arrived at Andujar at seven o'clock in the evening. Just as we entered the town, we met a procession moving towards the church with wax lights and music.

Andujar is a considerable town of about twelve thousand inhabitants, seated on the river Guadalquivir, in the midst of a country productive of corn, oil, wines, and various fruits. Amongst the productions of its industry, are vases made of a clay found in its neighbourhood, which in summer keep water as cold as ice. They are made in the form of an ewer with four spouts. It may not be altogether unworthy of remark, that here, for the first time during our journey, we observed houses neatly whitewashed. It is a town apparently of good business. The house prepared for the king was hung with lamps, like those at Carolina.

Whilst we were at supper, the administrator of the post paid us a visit, and gave us the history of a little piece of imposition which had been practised upon him. Two or three days previous to our arrival a gentleman drove up to the post-house, and inquired for the administrator, who immediately made his appearance. The stranger told him that he was a deputy going to Seville, that he had been robbed near Andujar of all his luggage and money, and he requested eighty dollars, that he might be enabled to pursue his journey. It would be unjust, he said, that he who had made so many sacrifices for liberty should be a loser, and the country, of course, would indemnify him for his losses. At present,

however, he wished for no more than eighty dollars, which would be sufficient to take him to Seville. The administrator, taken with his fine speech, gave him the money, and the following day he found in the passports of fresh arrivals a deputy from the same province, bearing the same name as the person to whom he had advanced the eighty dollars. Upon making inquiry, he found that the second was the real deputy, and the first an impostor. March.

We left Andujar at two o'clock in the morning, and travelled through a fertile country to Carpio, where we took chocolate. It was raining heavily all the morning, whence we had but a dim view of the surrounding scenery. Towards noon the sun shone out, and the vapours curled away from the hills, which, in many places, gave to view handsome seats planted amidst their declivities. Passed over the bridge of Alcolea, which is thrown over the Guadalquivir, consisting of twenty arches, and constructed of black marble. The marble is unpolished, but still the bridge is remarkably handsome. At half-past twelve we arrived at Cordova. 29th.

It was not without considerable expectation and feelings of respect that I approached this ancient town, the birth-place of Seneca and Lucan, and the favourite residence of sciences, arts, and arms, at a period when they were outcasts from every other part of the Peninsula. Here, too, I should see the famous cathedral with its three hundred and sixty marble pillars, which, in the time of the Moors, had been erected to the worship of the Crescent. The situation of the town, at the foot of high mountains decorated with gardens and country seats, and stationed on the banks of the Guadalquivir, reminded one of its former commercial wealth and activity; but on entering within its gates, we found it consisting of narrow streets, and the houses falling to decay. I understand it still preserves some manufactures of ribbons, silk, and hats. The Cordovan leather was formerly sought

March. after even in England; but I believe that trade has also declined to little or nothing. Its population, which at one time exceeded thirty thousand, does not now amount to ten thousand, yet it still preserves some appearance of business. In the cathedral I was rather disappointed. I expected to see a number of lofty columns towering on high, and forming by their arrangement lengthened and solemn ailes, where meditation might love to take up her abode. I found it a square building, of high and heavy walls on the outside, looking more like a prison than a house of prayer. On entering by one of its seventeen doors, I found the interior, consisting of nineteen naves, formed by marble pillars, perhaps to the number above stated, but of no considerable height, and certainly disproportioned to the building. Every two pillars supported an arch of brick and mortar, plastered; and over this, with an empty space between, was another arch, which, to my view, gave the interior of the building a confused and an inelegant appearance. It would appear, however, that in its original state, the mosque of Cordova must have been much more striking, and more richly decorated than it is at this day. A Moorish chapel, which had been for centuries stopped up by a brick partition, was accidentally discovered five or six years ago, and upon the removal of the partition, it was found in a complete state of preservation The roof and sides are most elaborately gilt, and ornamented with inscriptions in the Arabic character. The floor is of exquisite mosaic. In others of the small chapels I remarked a few fine paintings. The high altar is truly magnificent, as well as the choir. Adjoining the cathedral is a handsome *patio* of orange trees, adorned with several fountains.

We left Cordova at half-past two o'clock in the afternoon, and, according to the established arrangement of the diligence, we took with us an escort of six men on horseback,

each armed with two guns. They were wrapped up in their large cloaks, and rode on generally two or three hundred yards before the vehicle; in order that if they should discover any robbers, the rencontre might take place beyond gun-shot of the passengers. They were not military men *, but they were not therefore the less expert in the use of fire-arms, as almost every man in this country is a good marksman, being accustomed to the practice of arms from an early age, either in defence against robbers, or in shooting game. The road, after passing over the Guadalquivir, by an old bridge, ascended through hills covered with olives, between hedges interspersed with herbs and wild flowers, which bestowed a fragrance on the air. Here and there along the road we observed neat white houses, each of which had an oven built in front of it. As we advanced, we saw beans in blossom, a strong proof of the earliness of the spring in this climate. March.

After travelling three leagues of a very agreeable road, we arrived at Carlota, the newest and the handsomest of the new villages belonging to those of the Sierra Morena. It is situated on an eminence, and consists of a long wide street, from which a few narrow ones branch off. The houses in this street are large and handsome, particularly that of the intendant of the new villages, who formerly resided here, which is like a palace. The posada is also an extensive and handsome building, but no more than the half of it is finished. There are altogether between seven and eight hundred inhabitants. The younger part of the female population appeared in the street and balconies, with roses and pinks just plucked from the stem, intertwined with their hair, which gave them a character of pastoral simplicity.

* In the course of our journey we were led to believe that some, if not all, of the members of our escort, were ci-devant robbers.

March. We found here a number of travellers bound for Seville, who were stopped by reports that in the thick olive grounds beyond the village there was a desperate party of ten robbers. They resolved to wait for the escort, which was coming on with the king, or the first military convoy which might arrive.

The sun was just setting in humid clouds when we left Carlota, and we entered those thick olive grounds where it was said the ten robbers were waiting for any prey which might offer. Our escort was on before us, and as the evening closed in, and the woods became more dense, we were expecting every moment to hear a discharge of arms from some ambush, directed, either against the escort or the diligence. The men divided themselves when we came to the thickest part of the woods; two rode on as our advanced guard, two rode at some distance behind, and the other two by the side of the vehicle. Sometimes they all joined together again, sometimes two or three were detached into the by-paths. As they changed their stations they glided by us with the swiftness of an arrow; and dressed in their large hats and dark cloaks, and being doubly armed, they seemed, in fact, more like a party of banditti reconnoitring our vehicle, than of guards destined to protect it. The night was hastened upon us by heavy showers of rain, which fell incessantly, until we arrived about nine o'clock at Ecija, where we were to sup and rest a few hours. The posada is large, and much above the style commonly to be met with in Spain. In consequence, however, of its being Holy Saturday, we could get no other supper than stewed fish and vegetables. They gave us for dessert some excellent figs and raisins; the wine was a good white wine of the neighbouring country, and the beds being also good, we had no reason to complain.

30th. We left Ecija at two o'clock in the morning with an escort, and as soon as the day dawned, we found ourselves travelling

through a vast heath, where no sign of human industry was to be encountered, except now and then a goatherd attended by his dogs, and driving before him his numerous herd. The distance on the right was bounded by hills, on the left by groups of mountains. The road was bad—indeed, little improved from a state of nature. In many places the diligence rolled over the greensward. Here and there we observed a few herds of milch cows, a great rarity in the interior of Spain. We changed horses, or rather mules, at a post-house in the midst of this desolate heath, where wine and brandy are supplied to travellers by an old man, who tenants a small hut opposite to it. The roof rises from the ground, and is just high enough to admit a person to enter. It is thatched with weeds. The poor man's bed of sheep's skin lies in one corner, and in the other, are three or four jars of wine and brandy. He paid to the previous owner twenty-two dollars for the hut and trade, but he complained that he made little profit by the concern. One night in the last summer a terrible tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, came upon the heath, and in the midst of his terror some persons rapped at his door, and demanded shelter from the storm. After some hesitation, he let them in, and by the flame of the lightning he saw they were all armed men. They called for wine and whatever refreshments he had, which he gave them with great reluctance, suspecting they were robbers. They emptied all his jars, and stretched on the floor, till the storm ceased, when they sallied out without paying him a real. This was a great epoch of misfortune in the annals of this poor man's commerce, and he has since been scarcely able to recover it. He has a wife and family at Ecija; but he wears out his old age in solitude here, under the hope of making a dollar or two in the month. March.

After leaving this heath, we passed into a fertile country, where troops of horses and herds of cows were seen grazing

March. on extensive pastures, and soon came in sight of Carmona, which is seated on a lofty hill. The road was very steep in many places, and consequently our progress was tedious. When near Carmona we observed immense fields of wheat, which was already so far advanced, that in a month or six weeks it would be ripe for the sickle. Ascending the rugged rock on which Carmona is built, we found it a large old town of about three thousand inhabitants. The houses have an airy aspect: many of them have handsome *patios*, which, as usual, were decorated with flowers. It being Easter Sunday, we heard the organs pealing hymns of joy from several churches as we passed, and in the Plaza we observed a crowd of remarkably fine men, all dressed in their best attire. In Andalusia the cloak and hat are of the same form as those of the more northern provinces, but the under dress is much more gay. The breeches have handsome gilt buttons of filagree work all along the seam from the hip to the knee, and the white cotton stocking is bound under it by a silk cord and tassel. The jacket is also ornamented profusely with gilt hanging buttons, and is made of stuff, silk, or cloth, according to the taste or means of the wearer. The waistcoat is generally of a gaudy pattern, or plain white, and the middling and less affluent orders take peculiar pride in displaying a snow-white shirt, with a neatly plaited frill, and an open collar. They very seldom wear a neckcloth of any sort. Their dress is eminently advantageous to the human figure; every body, young and old, looks well in it.

We breakfasted here, and were not a little pleased at the prospect of being now within a few hours' journey of Seville. The road was very bad for some leagues, and devoid of interest until we reached Alcala de los Panaderos, or Alcala of the bakers. In this village all the bread is baked which is sold in Seville: it is beautifully situated. We were still escorted, not by men on horseback, as before, but by pe-

destrians, who must have found it a painful task to run along by the side of the diligence, on such a day as this. The sun was intensely hot. As we approached Seville, the road became excellent, and we soon descried the summit of its famous tower. The city, we observed, is most advantageously situated at the foot of a ridge of hills, cultivated to the top, which bounds it on one side, and on the banks of the Guadalquivir, which runs along its whole length, and then proceeds, in a serpentine course, through lands abounding with corn, oil, and wine. March.

We arrived at Seville at four o'clock in the afternoon, having been escorted to its very gates. Seville being famous for oranges, I looked for orange-trees on approaching it; but I observed very few, and on inquiry was told that they are grown in the interior of the province. We thus arrived at our destination without having seen the so often-mentioned robbers, without experiencing any sort of mishap whatever; and, indeed, altogether much pleased with our journey. Our company, brought together by mere accident, happened to harmonize admirably, and we might have travelled to China without feeling any other desire than that of rendering the way as mutually agreeable as possible. The only annoyance we felt was that of being obliged to show our passports at almost every post: but though the police, which is exercised in Spain almost exclusively by military, was vigilant, we were treated in the civilest manner.

CHAPTER XIX.

SEVILLE.—THE ALCAZAR.—LADIES OF SEVILLE.—THE THEATRE.—SITUATION OF SEVILLE FOR A CAPITAL.—THE GUADALQUIVIR.—RUINS OF ITALICA.—BULL-FIGHTS.—FEELING OF THE SEVILLIANS TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTION.—SIR WILLIAM A'COURT.—NEUTRALITY OF ENGLAND.—ARRIVAL OF THE KING.

April. In consequence of the removal of the seat of government to Seville, that capital had already received a considerable accession to its usual population. It boasts of some good taverns, or fondas, but the posadas are few and incommodious—not to speak of any other fault. I obtained a bed at the Fonda del Sol, not without difficulty; and the morning after my arrival I went through all the principal streets to see if lodgings were to be had. In Seville, as in Madrid, when a house is to be let, a piece of blank paper is tied to the railing in the middle of the balcony; where a suite of apartments is to be let, the blank paper is attached to one side of the balcony. In all my course I found only one house disengaged, which, of course, I did not want, and one set of apartments, which were unfurnished, and therefore to me useless. Thus I was obliged to content myself with my room in the posada, where I had scarcely light enough to write, but which, in this respect, had an advantage, as it excluded the heat of the sun, which, to a northern foreigner, was scarcely tolerable even at this season of the year.

The usual population of Seville is estimated, according to the last census, at ninety thousand four hundred and fifteen souls. The population of Madrid is estimated at upwards

of one hundred and forty thousand; but most of the families in Seville have a house to themselves, whereas in Madrid several families inhabit the same mansion. In Seville the houses are mostly built according to the eastern fashion, seldom consisting of more than two stories, and constructed round the four sides of an open area, which, as I have elsewhere observed, is called the *patio*. The front door, which is open from morning till night, leads to a short entrance, which is very neatly paved with brick or polished tiles. From this passage called the *zaguan*—an Arabic word for a porch, another door, which is generally shut, leads to the interior square or *patio*. This inner door is sometimes of oak or mahogany; but usually it is formed of iron bars, arranged often in a light and fanciful style, handsomely painted and gilt. Through this door, any one passing in the streets may observe the economy of the patio, which is floored with polished tiles, sometimes planted with shady trees, but more generally decorated with vases, in which the most fragrant roses and other flowers are growing. Not contented with the number of flower-pots which they can conveniently arrange on the floor of the patio, they have also half-flat vases, which are suspended on the walls all round. In this place are also sometimes glass cupboards, in which all the riches of the house in china ware are set out, and wired cases, where books are arranged in the shade. It is quite refreshing to pass from the burning streets into one of these nymph-like abodes, where coolness and shade are at once to be obtained. In some there are handsome fountains, ever yielding pure and cool streamlets; and the tiles are kept constantly cool by sprinkling them frequently with water. April.

As yet most of the inhabitants were living above stairs, and the rooms on the first story were shut up. Numbers might easily have let their lower apartments, but they preferred to keep them for their own use, as they would remove down

April. stairs about the latter end of May. The communication of the rooms above stairs with each other is usually by an external gallery, which runs all round the square. To the edges of this gallery pulleys are attached, by means of which a canvas awning may be stretched over the patio in summer.

Besides this superabundance of house room, the streets are mostly so narrow, that there are not more than two or three through which two carriages could pass abreast. In many, a carriage cannot pass at all, and one may touch each side of the street with his hands as he passes. The reason which I have heard assigned for this peculiar construction of the streets of Seville is, that if they were wider, it would be impossible to bear in them the heat of the summer sun. Being so close together, they afford a mutual shade, and the passenger can walk through them without inconvenience from heat at any time of the day. This effect is certainly obtained; but the consequence is, that Seville appears to be little more than a labyrinth of narrow lanes, in which a stranger is frequently puzzled how to make out his way. Taking these things into consideration, it did not appear to me that there are much fewer houses in Seville than in Madrid; but the extent of ground which Seville occupies is considerably less than that of the capital; its public buildings are fewer, and its streets, on account of their narrowness, have considerably less beauty. They are also so roughly paved, that it is painful to one not accustomed to walk through them.

But if Seville have no street which may be spoken of in the most distant comparison with the Calle de Alcala of Madrid, neither has Madrid a cathedral which would bear the least comparison with that of Seville. It is a most superb edifice, four hundred and twenty feet by two hundred and sixty-three. It was built in 1401, and its tower is the pride of Seville. It was raised to the height of 250

feet by Guever, the celebrated Moorish architect; but after April.
his time it received an accession of 100 feet more. There are twenty immense bells in the top, and one ascends it by means of an inclined plane, which a horse might traverse with ease and safety. The whole is surmounted by a *Giralda*, emblematic of faith, which, though weighing two tons and a half, turns with the slightest breeze. There are in the cathedral eighty painted windows, each of which, it is said, cost 1,000 ducats. The choir, organs, the high altar, are in a style of singular magnificence. There are several small chapels round the edifice, which are handsomely decorated, and some admirable pictures are hung in these chapels, as well as behind the high altar. The sacristy is a splendid chamber, the roof supported by massive pillars, and laboriously ornamented. There are several fine pictures in this chamber, which, together with those in the cathedral, are chiefly the work of Murillo and Zurbaran. In the chapel of "The Kings," the body of St. Fernando is preserved, as well as the ashes of king Alfonso "the wise," the queen Beatrice, and other members of the royal family.

The other principal public buildings consist of the famous snuff manufactory; an edifice which was built for an exchange, but which has since been applied to the purposes of a record office, where are deposited all the original correspondence and papers concerning South America; the amphitheatre for bull-fights; a number of parochial churches, in which there are several excellent paintings; and some hospitals and convents. Several of the latter have been suppressed, and the churches attached to them were undergoing preparations for serving, one for the saloon of the Cortes, one for the office of the *Credito Publico*, and others for various public offices.

The Alcazar, which was preparing for his majesty and the other members of the royal family, is an old palace, said

April to have been originally constructed by the Moorish kings, but which has received several additions and alterations from Charles V. and Philip II. The main building, according to the eastern fashion, is erected round a square area, and the apartments, which are of various sizes, have an internal communication one with the other. The ceilings are uniformly of wood carved, and painted, and intended probably to have been gilt. These seem to be of the old Spanish style. Indeed, the only decorations in the whole building which appear to be Moresque, are some stucco works in filagree, which adorn the front of the principal entrance, and a few of the apartments. The only part of the building worthy of attention is the hall of the Ambassadors, the ceiling of which, consisting of wood, is deeply groined and gilt. In the frieze over the arches which sustain the roof there are inserted portraits of all the Spanish kings, including Ferdinand VII. The hall is lofty, and profusely decorated with filagree work, which would have a handsome effect, if it had not been rendered indistinct by having been frequently white-washed. Both this hall and the apartments up stairs are incrusted all round to the height of four or five feet from the floor with square painted plates of earthenware, an ornament to which the Spaniards seem to have been formerly attached.

The gardens preserve still less of the Moorish character than the palace, being laid out entirely in the old Spanish style. The principal garden consists of several square plots, planted with box, which is curiously formed into several devices. One plot contains the royal arms surmounted by the crown of Spain, another the arms of the Prince of the Asturias, another the fleur-de-lys. There are a few plots of flowers, which seem to have been badly attended. The walks are all tiled, and underneath them are pipes with small tubes, which are so contrived as, when filled, to cast up

water in the form of a cross. There are several fountains in this garden, one of them a handsome basin of white marble, formed out of the solid block. There was a labyrinth here some years ago, but it has been recently cut down. There are two fish-ponds, one of which is guarded by two verdant knights armed with iron lances. Several of these heroes formerly kept sentry at different angles of this abode of perverted taste, but they have been broken up, and are now consigned to the shades of Maria Padilla's bath, where their dissevered legs and arms may be seen by the antiquarian. Maria Padilla was first the mistress, and next the wife, of Peter the Cruel, who had an extensive bath built for her use under the square area, round which the palace is built. King Joseph made it a dining-room. It is now a lumber-room; and the place where that princess once bathed her graceful limbs, and king Joseph banqueted, is now the common receptacle of scaffolding-poles, of ex-knights of the garden, and various old stores. The most curious feature in these gardens is a walk on the top of a high wall, which is said to have been built by Charles V. This walk enjoys a fine prospect; and immediately under it there is another walk, which passes between pillars that support the top of the wall. Formerly this wall afforded a private communication with the Golden Tower, which stands on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and which is said to have been built by Cæsar. The wall is defended at the termination of the orangery, which is behind the garden, by a group of castles, where Joseph, when he resided in Seville, kept a constant guard, in order that if any danger should arise, he might escape and embark in the river. By the removal of some houses, the communication with the Golden Tower is now interrupted.

The preparations, by the way, which were making in the Alcazar, for the reception of the king, were confined to

April. white-washing, painting, and cleansing. There was not a single chair, or table, or bed in the whole palace; it was expected that there was a convoy on the road with these necessary articles of furniture.

The authorities were doing all in their power to prepare for the reception of the government; but they wanted money, which, day after day, they were calling on the inhabitants to supply. One day the Intendant issued a placard, couched in the most flattering terms towards the Sevillians, requesting them to furnish the sums necessary for receiving the government, either by way of free gift or loan, or in anticipation of future contributions, and assuring them that, by the arrival of the government in the city, they would be usuriously repaid. The next day the Constitutional Alcalde issued another placard to the same purpose; and after these came the Political Chief, in terms equally adulatory, and with solicitations still more pressing. But hitherto they had expended their eloquence to little purpose; for it appeared that the Sevillians, though rejoicing in the arrival of the government amongst them, were very reluctant to pay beforehand for any benefits which they expected from it. The greatest bustle prevailed in every part of the town in preparing houses, laying in stores, removing furniture, every body being resolved to make the utmost of the approaching harvest. Beds and apartments were at five times their common price, and an attempt was made also to increase the price of bread, under pretence that there was a scarcity of flour; but the authorities speedily interfered, and prevented this extortion.

The old inhabitants said that Seville now began to look like itself; for they remembered the time when it was the emporium of the Spanish commerce with the new world. Since the separation of American from Spanish interests, Seville has fallen greatly to decay, though from its situation

on the banks of the Guadalquivir, and in the midst of a fer- April
tile country, it has long preserved an abundance of riches.

The principal public walk is called the Alameda del Rio, or Alameda of the River, as it is on the banks of the Guadalquivir. The Alameda literally signifies a grove or a walk planted with trees, from *alamo*, the Spanish name for poplar. It was thronged every evening between five and seven o'clock with crowds of both sexes. The women of Seville are remarkably animated and interesting. They have a good deal of Arabic fire in their eyes. They mostly walk in the Alameda in full dress—that is to say, with their hair carefully curled, their arms bare; the veil, as usual, thrown over the head and shoulders, but not concealing the face. Their chief attractions, however, consist in fine forms and a lively expression of countenance, which, perhaps, are more fascinating than regular beauty. The Moorish colour is not absent from their cheeks, though some are to be met with whose faces are as fresh as those of a lovely English woman.

Most of the silks which are worn in Seville are of French manufacture. The ribbons, stockings, shawls, veils, and even the fans, those indispensable appendages of Spanish beauty, appear all to come from the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal. Among the higher orders there is a prevailing rage for French bonnets. They are much more commonly to be seen in this and in other parts of Andalusia, than in those provinces which are nearer to France. Indeed, in many respects, the Andalusians seem to be quite a different race from the people of La Mancha and the two Castilles. They have an oriental fondness for gay colours, which they display chiefly in the selection of their neck-kerchiefs. The gown is, as usual, of black silk, handsomely flounced, and not gravely long enough to hide the snow-white silk stocking beneath. The young women of Seville take peculiar pains in dressing their feet, if I may be pardoned such an

April. expression. They generally wear a very low shoe of pink or white silk on gala days, with a large bow of white ribbons: the silk stocking is also white, and of open work, and the contrast which the white stocking forms with the black gown, sets off a neatly turned instep and ankle to great advantage. It is here all the pride of the belle is seen, and her downward looks frequently indicate her complacency in the dangerous snares she has set in that quarter. The mantilla is as common here as in other parts of Spain, but generally of a finer fabric, and more abundantly decorated wtth lace. The middling orders, from ten to sixty, wear natural flowers in their hair. Matrons, whose heads already bear the blossoms of the grave, do not scruple to cover them with roses—thus asserting that even for declining age the all-reviving spring does not return in vain.

The principal theatre, which is new, is scarcely yet finished, and by no means unhandsome for Spain. It is large and commodious, and the pannels of the boxes are tolerably well painted. The lunettas, or seats in the pit, are upon the same convenient plan as in Madrid; that is to say, all the seats are separate and numbered, and by a timely application one may purchase any place he prefers. I forget the name of the only comedy which I saw at this theatre; but its object was to expose the means by which official appointments are—I should have said *were*, obtained in Spain. A poor suitor, who had been promised a place, presents himself in the office of the minister with his memorial; but he is treated with all sorts of indignities by the underlings, until, by the advice of his friend, the barber, he fees each of them successively. These, he is informed, are the steps of the ladder by which he must ascend to the object of his wishes. To the men he gives money, to the women dresses, and after gaining them all, he at last arrives at the presence of the minister. Here, too, he is at

first rudely repulsed—there is no vacancy—there would not be one for a length of time—there was no hope whatever for him—until his suit was urged by his wife, a handsome woman, whose attractions had the effect of finding a vacancy instanter; and by these means the suitor at last gets his appointment. The comedy is pregnant with satire, though upon a hackneyed subject, and has some sallies of wit which were strongly applauded. The performers were all dressed as in common life, without any thing theatrical about them, whence to an Englishman they seemed to be engaged rather in a rehearsal, than a public exhibition. After the comedy, a kind of military ballet was presented, in which the female dancers went through several military evolutions, each bearing a firelock. It is due to the judgment of the audience to add, that this absurd performance, though got up with the patriotic view of inculcating that even the women would take arms, if necessary, in the approaching war of liberty, met with unequivocal expressions of disapprobation. There is no gallery. The upper range of boxes goes all round, and is devoted exclusively to females. The boxes were thinly attended by some genteel persons. The lunettas were crowded with gentlemen, and an open space behind them, which affords standing room only, was filled with those who paid the lowest price of entrance. The play begins generally at half-past seven, and concludes between ten and eleven. I observed no soldiers nor police of any sort, and yet the strictest order prevailed. April.

The coffee-houses in Seville are upon the plan of Paris; but they are of very modern date, and are now only beginning to take in the newspapers for the accommodation of their guests. A *Diario* has been published here for some time, of a small size, and badly conducted. The *Espectador*, the *Gaceta*, and the *Universal*, have also been removed; and other journals of Madrid were in a course of removal to

April. Seville. Thus Seville seemed likely to be for some time the seat of government, and the principal source of information to the Peninsula.

Indeed, when one considers the situation of Seville, as compared with that of Madrid; the latter seated, I may say, in the midst of a desert, and at a great distance from the sea—the former planted in the midst of a country teeming with oil, corn, leguminous plants, and delicious wines, and within a day's journey of Cadiz, which has communication with all parts of the world, it is impossible not to see that Spain may impute many of her misfortunes to the mistaken views of those who originally made Madrid the capital. I have heard no second opinion on this subject from those who have been able to compare the situation of both the cities. I have heard several say that they were convinced Spain would never have lost her American colonies, if her government had resided in this city; nor does this assertion appear altogether unreasonable, seeing that more attention would have been paid to maritime affairs, if the officers of government were in the vicinity of the sea; the colonies would have more strongly occupied their thoughts and those of the public; and commerce in general would have been carried on upon a more enterprising system. Whereas, in Madrid, the government and its *employes*, have been always in a species of exile from the ports, and they cared little how maritime affairs went on, so long as they could keep their places.

Walking out in the outskirts of the town, I observed, on the side towards the Guadalquivir, a range of strong wall, which, according to an inscription upon the face of it, I found to have been built by Charles III. to defend the lower part of the town from the inundations of the river. It appears that the Guadalquivir rises some winters to an amazing height. I have observed in the streets several

pieces of marble inserted in the walls, some eight and nine feet high, with inscriptions, importing that, in 1796, the river rose to the altitude at which they are placed. Last winter it rose higher even than these memorials, or than any man remembers. In its course it swept away flocks and cottages, and did great injuries in Seville. This liability of being flooded is one of the disadvantages to be encountered in this city:—another is, that of late years the yellow fever has been so frequent here, that it may be said to be rooted in the place. The narrowness of the streets, and the consequent want of a free circulation of air, will probably prevent for some time a total exemption from this dangerous disease. If the fever should appear during the summer, it was said to be the intention of the government to remove to Cordova, if circumstances permitted; for to go down to Cadiz, would be only to pass, according to the common saying, "out of the frying-pan into the fire." April.

I looked about for several hospitals, convents, and parochial churches, in which I learned from Townsend there were several pictures by Murillo and Zurbaran. But in no one instance did I succeed. The hospitals and convents in which those treasures were, have either been plundered by the French, or suppressed by the Cortes; the pictures which once adorned these churches, as well as the buildings, have been taken away by Joseph Buonaparte or his marshals, and never have been restored.

Three or four miles from Seville there are ruins of an ancient city built by the Romans, which they named Italica, which the monks call Santa Iponze, and the peasants in its neighbourhood, Old Seville. I rode out one evening to see it. The road passes over the Guadalquivir by a bridge of boats, and through the suburb of Triana, and then for the greater part of the way parallel with the river. I took the bridle road, which, though very bad, is something shorter than the carriage road. On the left hand all the way

April. stretches that line of green hill which I have already noticed, and which would form a prominent and beautiful feature in a painting of Seville. It is richly cultivated, and two or three villages are planted on its top or declivities, which animate a landscape flowing with oil and abounding with corn. The convent of Santa Iponze was used as a barrack by the French, and was at this time in the possession of Spanish cavalry recruits. A little beyond the village bearing the same name, I observed the massive remains of an extensive building, evidently Roman; but they are in such a state of ruin, that it would be difficult to ascertain the form or purpose of the edifice. A short distance beyond this village I was directed to turn off the road into a cornfield, in the middle of which I found the ruins of an amphitheatre. They are in a tolerable state of preservation, and, with very trifling interruptions, continue the line all round, so as to show that the building was of an oval form. In several parts, the stone benches built in the wall may be seen rising row above row; they are constructed upon an arch which is hollow inside. The arched space which is beneath the lowest tier of benches has communications with the arena; and it would appear that from this interior chamber the combatants, whether men or animals, were admitted into the scene of contest.

I contemplated these ruins with a lively interest, speculating in my thoughts how it might have appeared when it was perfect, and crowded with spectators. I saw them intently fixed on the combat going on in the arena, agitated by the vicissitudes of the struggle, the air resounding with their shouts. Here some young maid put up her prayers to Jupiter that he might shield the heart of her brother or lover in the arena from the efforts of his antagonist, and there were old men boasting of the vigour of their youth. What a cloud of ignorance brooded over their minds! And yet what a noble spirit did they cherish amidst scenes of

such barbarous amusement! The games are closed—another shout fills the air—the spectators rise to depart—hurry down the benches—press out at the doors, and separate to their several avocations—the soldier to his camp—the matron to her distaff—the soothsayer to his meditations—the author to his scroll of parchment—the artizan to his labour. What changes have been wrought since those shouts were heard!—What new worlds discovered! To what a new rank of existence has man raised himself by those inventions, which give each individual more than the fabled hundred hands of Briareus, waft him on wings from shore to shore, and enable him to embrace the universe in his mind! April.

As I was returning from these interesting ruins, I deviated into a path which led me to a covered well of the purest water. A peasant was sitting beside it, who told me that there was formerly a tablet of marble over the arch of the well, with a Roman inscription upon it; which, he said, was taken away by the English, when the army was in this neighbourhood. While we were conversing, two young girls and an elderly woman came to the well for water. The youngest wore a rose intertwined with her hair: the other two wore wild blue flowers. The peasant gallantly supplied their pitchers with the spring, and after some chat, into which they gaily entered, I rode away.

During my stay in Seville, I went to see two bull-fights. Shocking as this national amusement is at first to a foreigner, there is something always attractive in a numerous assembly of people, particularly when arranged on the seats of such a large and handsome amphitheatre as this of Seville. The lower tiers of seats are all of stone; the upper tiers, which are called the balconies, are of brick, and the roof is supported by marble pillars. These pillars and balconies, however, extend only to half the circle of the amphitheatre, the funds destined for its completion having fallen short, and none being since supplied to repair this striking defect.

April. The other half is built up with wood, and in some parts the regularity of the circle is broken in upon by detached houses, from which the inhabitants can view the entertainments free of expense. The first exhibition of this sort, which the Sevillians witnessed since the Carnival, was on Easter Monday, the amphitheatre having been shut during the Lent. Four bulls were slain; but either from their amazing strength, or the want of recent practice among the picadores and matadores, the three first victims offered such determined resistance, that two horses were ripped open, one picador was thrown off his horse and severely bruised by the fall, and one matador, who missed his aim, was attacked with so much energy by the bull, that he had not time to make his retreat, and he was so much injured that for some time his life was despaired of.

After the fight, some equestrian feats were performed by a woman, which were of an inferior description. A small balloon, with the figure of a man, was next sent up; and at a height of some hundred feet, the figure descended with a parachute. The whole concluded with the admission of a weak bull into the arena, for the amusement of the populace, who crowded in to attack it. The amphitheatre was well filled on this occasion, and the people seemed highly gratified by the whole of the entertainments, except the equestrian part, which was not repeated. The second bull-fight was badly attended, as the weather was unfavourable. Seven bulls were killed, but none of them afforded much interest, as they seemed to be all of inferior breeds. In the morning, however, when they were driven to the amphitheatre, one of them killed a young man who imprudently ventured too near them.

I made some inquiries into the feeling of the Sevillians with regard to the Constitution, and the answers which I received from persons resident here for some years, were shortly to this effect. That when the Constitution was first

proclaimed, a number of rich proprietors, and of steady commercial men, embarked ardently in the cause, under the hope that liberal institutions would tend greatly to the amelioration of their different interests. Within the last year, however, the frequent changes of ministry produced corresponding alterations in all the offices within the reach of their power; and the displacements and successions directed by the actual ministry, soon after they came into office, were particularly peremptory and extensive. The new *employes*, it was said, consisted mostly of that half-educated gentry, who, after leaving school, had spent the greatest part of their lives in the coffee-houses, and billiard and gambling-rooms; and when they found themselves invested with authority, they exercised it in a rude, and sometimes oppressive manner, assuming to themselves the character of exclusive and ultra zealous Constitutionalists. The early and rational friends of the Constitution frequently experienced causes of disgust in the conduct of these new men; and they found, according to their views and feelings, fifty petty tyrants, where only the influence of one was formerly distantly felt. They, in consequence, retired from the scene of public affairs altogether, and yielded it to the Exaltados—so the new men were here, as elsewhere, styled. The result of these proceedings upon the general spirit of Seville was to render it exceedingly indifferent towards the Constitution. April.

One might suspect that this view of the matter had come from interested, and therefore questionable sources; but, though I made many inquiries, I could hear no representation differing essentially from what is above stated. The frequent and ineffectual applications which the authorities were making every day for money, legally due from the inhabitants, in order to enable them to prepare for the reception of the government, tended rather to corroborate this statement.

April. Besides these, an "allocution," as it is called, addressed to the inhabitants of Seville, was published by the Political Chief, in which he begun by saying, that although he had witnessed reiterated proofs of the constitutional spirit of the inhabitants of this province, nevertheless he issued to them fresh injunctions to receive the King, on his arrival, as a "constitutional sovereign," that they might do away those suspicions which the enemies of liberty entertained of their fidelity to the established system. He then went on to state, that the removal of the government had stricken terror into the hearts of the foreigners; and in a comparison which he drew between the state of France and Spain, he assured them that anarchy was reigning in the former country, which was on the eve of another revolution, in order to break her chains. "While the French," he continued, "are in hourly fear of an explosion, which may lead them back to the times of Robespierre or Bonaparte, Spain, always grand and generous, calmly observes the results of those causes, and supports and contemplates with pleasure the resolution of her Constitutional King to remove his government to a secure place, whence he can dictate the measures most expedient in our present political situation."—"Union and harmony, this is my only injunction; circumspection and reflection in the midst of the most amusing actions are necessary, that the scenes may not be changed; let there be nothing but rejoicings and gladness amongst all, but with *uniformity*, and without going beyond the limits which reason and policy require. *Viva la nacion! Viva la Constitucion! viva el Rey Constitucional! viva el Congreso sobrano!* These are the *vivas* which it becomes patriots to shout in the ears of his majesty on his arrival; any other shout, of whatever sort it may be, cannot fulfil the object of such demonstrations of joy, nor can they have any other effect than that of subverting the good order of things. I hope that the inhabitants

of this capital and province will follow these principles, it being understood that if it should not so happen, with pain I say it, the weight of my authority shall fall on him who commits any infractions in this respect; but I hope that this case will not arise, and, above all, that nothing will remain to be desired by your fellow-citizen, and superior Political Chief, Sebastian Garchia de Ochoa." April.

A stranger, knowing no more of the inhabitants of Seville than he might infer from this allocution, would be apt to suspect that they were animated by sentiments in some respects differing from those of the Political Chief. It was the first proclamation I had seen ordering a people to be merry by rule and with *uniformity*, and not to say or shout either too much or too little, lest "the scenes should be changed." The vivas which they were to utter were already prepared for their lips. "*Dulce est desipere in loco*," says Horace. "No," says the superior Political Chief, "in the midst of your joy you must have *circumspection* and *reflection*, otherwise, it is with grief I say it, I must let all the weight of my authority fall upon you."

Sir William A'Court, who had left Madrid after the King, arrived in Seville a few days before him. His excellency's journey was a kind of triumph all the way. In several of the towns where he stopped for the night, the authorities presented themselves to pay their respects. In one place a large crowd assembled before the windows of the house where he was lodged, and sent in a deputation to present their respects, and request that he would show himself in the balcony. He complied with their desire, and they hailed him with repeated shouts of *Viva el Ministro Ingles! Viva la Constitucion!* In another place he was addressed by the title of "your Majesty!" and almost every where he stopped he was serenaded with music. He had an order for private lodgings at every stage of his route, and nothing could ex- 5th.

April. ceed the attention with which the proprietors of the different houses designated for his residence received him and Lady A'Court. They brought with them their own provisions, and were anxious to give as little trouble as possible. But their hosts, generally persons of rank, were prodigal of their civilities, and expressed themselves particularly favoured by having the English minister under their roof. They were attended by an escort of Cuirassiers all the way, who conducted themselves with marked respect and attention. At one of the towns through which they passed, the Intendant said he had orders to escort the English minister to the borders of the province with the whole troop of local cavalry. This was unnecessary, and of course declined. But the Intendant said his orders were positive, that the cavalry were anxious to discharge the honourable service appointed for them, and if the attendance of the whole corps were not deemed necessary, he would take it as a particular favour if six were allowed to proceed with the minister to the precincts of the province. This compromise was accepted, for it was in vain to refuse such hospitable entreaties. In more than one of the houses where they rested, a splendid dinner was provided for the whole party; an extraordinary mark indeed of civility, for it is generally one of the last things they offer in Spain. But this was exceeded by another of Sir William's hosts, who offered him money to any amount which he might think fit to take. This was the most superfluous compliment of all to a minister of England, though probably the intention was sincere, as it was undoubtedly respectful.—The house in which Sir William A'Court resides in Seville belongs to the family of Saavedra, and was handsomely offered free of expense for his use. Of course this civility was not accepted.

I do not know, however, how far the Spaniards would have been likely to pursue the same course of attention and

hospitality to the minister of England, if they had known of Mr. Canning's declaration of neutrality with respect to the approaching contest between France and the Peninsula. Indeed, of all engagements in the cause of liberty, that of England in favour of Spain would be the most Quixotic. The Constitution, no matter what may be its excellence or imperfection, has certainly not succeeded in gathering around it the sentiments and good wishes of a majority of the people of that country. I have already given some idea of the state of public feeling in Seville. The same state of apathy, to use the mildest expression, prevailed in all the towns through which we passed after leaving Madrid. From my own observations, and those of others, I can safely state that the great majority of the people on the line of that route desired nothing so much as peace. They have been vexed and injured by repeated contributions and conscriptions, and latterly, by anticipations of the current year's taxes, their means of complying with them being extremely limited. The agitations prevailing the last two years in Spain have, in a great measure, suspended the usual internal trade of the provinces, and the people were called upon to make fresh sacrifices—one day to the factious, the next day to the Constitutionalists, at a time when they were impoverished beyond all precedent. These are facts, and not speculations. However ardent may be an Englishman's wish that Spain may enjoy liberal institutions (and if he were without a wish of this nature he would be undeserving of his country); still, when he saw that the idea of civil liberty was carried in that nation to an extreme which promised no durability, and that this extreme, supported only by bayonets and by official *employes*, was the inviolable system which England was called upon to assist with her mighty arm, he cannot but rejoice that that assistance was refused, and that the strength of his country was reserved for more worthy purposes. April.

April. In saying thus much, however, I would not be understood as discouraging in any degree those exertions which Englishmen have made, or may hereafter make, as individuals, for assisting the Spaniards to sustain the independence of their country against the unprincipled aggression of France. God forbid that Englishmen should ever take any other part than that of countenancing the course of freedom, assisting it with their money, and cheering it through the desperate struggle! But the government, I trust, will stand aloof, and let the dictator and allies of Russia waste their strength on the air. England will continue to husband her resources, while the despots of the Continent are squandering theirs in contests, which will every day thicken upon them.

Public notice was given, that the King would arrive in Seville on the 10th. An announcement to this effect was posted in all the public places, and orders were issued to the inhabitants in the streets through which the royal cavalcade was to pass, to decorate the fronts of their houses. Illuminations were also enjoined for the three ensuing nights. Another edict was issued, rather of a peculiar nature, directing that all taverns should be shut after three o'clock on the day of his majesty's entry; the reason assigned for this measure being, that such disorders as had occurred on former occasions of public rejoicings were caused by the operation of a little too much wine. In the northern provinces I have had occasion to observe that the Spaniards drink little; but in Andalusia they are fond of wine, and not unfrequently commit excesses; nor is it much to be wondered at, considering that their climate is rather humid, and their wines most delicious. The red wine in common use in Seville is as fine as old Port, to the strength of which it adds the flavour of Burgundy.

10th. The morning of the 10th looked unfavourable for the display of any pageant, as a slight rain was falling, and the

skies were charged with threatening clouds. At noon it continued to rain. Several of the balconies in the streets leading to the palace from the gate of Triana, through which the King was to enter, were hung with counterpanes, most of them of purple silk. The streets near the gate of Triana was lined on one side with soldiers. The Plaza, or square, of the Constitution, looked very handsome. The house of the Ayuntamiento was hung with purple tapestry, and the pillars of its large balcony were entwined with wreaths of artificial roses. The interior of the balcony, which, perhaps, ought rather to be called an open gallery, was decorated with eight or ten glass lustres; and in front of two of the pillars were placed the representations of a coat of mail and helmet, surmounted in the usual manner by the national ensigns. A considerable crowd of people was collected in the Plaza, and the balconies of the houses were all filled with spectators, chiefly females, well dressed, and their hair ornamented with natural flowers. As there are balconies to each of the stories, the lower ones were sheltered from the rain, which now began to fall heavily. A large body of troops was assembled in the Plaza, with a band. April.

From the Plaza to the gate of Triana, there is a long line of narrow streets. The balconies here were also crowded, and as soon as the first guns were fired, at five minutes before one, announcing that the royal cavalcade was within a quarter of a league of the capital, every balcony, without exception, was hung with counterpanes; some of very old patterns of flowered silk, some yellow chintz, some of damask, but the generality of purple silk. The soldiers were all at their posts. Some of the churches were fronted with old tapestry, and the monks belonging to the convents in the line of route, were all drawn out at the side of the street opposite to them.

A second royal salute of fifteen guns announced the entry

April. of the King within the gate of Triana, at a quarter past one. The royal carriages were preceded and followed by a strong escort of cavalry, and as soon as they entered the streets, a few of them began to shout *viva Riego*. This cry was not answered, and it was not repeated by the cavalry. An officer of infantry ran immediately before the King's carriage, crying out *Viva* as he passed. Even this was but faintly re-echoed from the balconies. I followed the royal cavalcade, in the midst of a heavy shower of rain, from the gate of Triana to the Plaza de la Constitucion; and until it arrived at the latter place, I never saw any thing more like a funeral procession. No waving of handkerchiefs from the fair sex, no vivas or shouts of any sort from the men, though the balconies were crowded.

When the cavalcade arrived in the Plaza de la Constitucion, there was something like a general shout of *vivas*, without any other addition, except from the soldiers collected in the square, a few of whom added *la Constitucion*, and some, *el Rey Constitucional*. The band played the hymn of Riego, but the shout was neither sustained nor enthusiastic; and certainly the people in the balconies took no conspicuous share in it. In fact, they did not seem to know that the king and queen were in the first carriage, and they were still looking on to the end of the cavalcade, where the more gaudy carriages of the officers of the household followed. I never witnessed in so large a concourse of people such complete apathy; they seemed to be present merely because there was something to see; but the spectacle appeared to have disappointed them, probably because the carriages, horses, and men, all dripping wet, presented no emblems of festive gaiety. The side windows of all the carriages were open. The King was dressed in blue uniform, with a star on his left breast, and sat forward in the carriage. He bowed slightly as he passed, and did not appear much fatigued

after his journey. The Queen sat back, and was scarcely visible. The Infantes, and their servants, were received without much notice. April.

The cavalcade passed on through several other streets, and a third royal salute announced its arrival at the Palace, at a few minutes before two. The bells of all the steeples were rung during the procession; the twenty bells of the cathedral thundered forth all their deafening sounds. Doubtless, if the day had been fine, the entry of the King might have presented a much more festive spectacle. But what with the torrents of rain, the splashing of cavalry, the mud of the streets, the clouds of umbrellas, and the apathy of the people, I do not remember to have ever witnessed a public exhibition so uninteresting, and I may add, so melancholy.

At night there were illuminations, the signal for commencing which was given by the illumination of the spire of the cathedral tower. This assemblage of blazing torches in the sky had a very striking effect. The faces of the men employed in kindling the torches looked ghastly in their light. A vast number of birds, who had been disturbed from their airy nests, were hovering in alarm around the Giralda, and in the reflection of the torches they appeared all white.

CHAPTER XX.

JOURNEY TO CADIZ.—RETURN TO SEVILLE.

April. THE communication between Seville and Cadiz has been lately very much facilitated by the establishment of a steam-boat on the Guadalquivir. It starts every second morning from Seville for Bonanza (a small port near that of San Lucar), where the passengers are landed, and from thence they make the best of their way overland to Port St. Mary's. From Port St. Mary's they cross the bay to Cadiz in a sailing-boat; or, if the weather be unfavourable, they go round the margin of the bay, which of course considerably increases the distance. It is understood that steam-boats are in a course of preparation which will make the whole way to Cadiz; an enterprise, however, which it is apprehended may meet with some difficulties in the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Should it be realized, it will be of great advantage to both those interesting cities, as the present mode of accomplishing part of the journey by water and part by land, is attended with inconvenience and unnecessary delay, though certainly much more expeditious than formerly. It is not more than a few months ago since travellers wishing to go from Seville to Cadiz, were obliged to trust to the chances of weather to waft them down the river to San Lucar in an open sailing-boat, which offered no sort of accommodation. Sometimes they were three and four days performing this voyage. At night they put into some village on the banks, where they slept. The steam-boat generally lands her passengers at Bonanza within ten hours; and with a better con-

structed vessel, and an engine of higher power, she might do it in six. April.

On paying the day before at the office two dollars and a half for my passage in the principal, or, as they call it, the poop, cabin, I received a card with a number upon it, and found upon entering the vessel that, as at the theatres, I was to occupy a seat corresponding with that number. There is so great a degree of convenience in such an arrangement, that it might be adopted in our steam-vessels and theatres with much advantage to the public. We started at four o'clock in the morning. It continued to rain and blow hard all the day, with so little intermission, that, however much I wished it, I had no opportunity of standing on deck for a few minutes to view the scenery on the banks of the Guadalquivir. There were not many passengers; and of these the Spanish portion, both male and female, spent the greater part of the day in sleeping. The gloomy and unpleasant character of the weather indeed invited to this mode of killing time; but I was rescued from it by the agreeable and interesting conversation of two English officers, who had come up a few days before from Gibraltar on leave of absence to see Seville, and were now returning.

We arrived at Bonanza shortly before three o'clock, and there, in conjunction with a French gentleman, I hired one of the numerous calesinas which were in waiting for Port St. Mary's. A calesina is a very old-fashioned vehicle, of which the modern cabriolet is an improvement. It is gaudily painted, and decorated with brass nails and plates, and drawn by one horse. The distance from Bonanza to Port St. Mary's is four leagues; the road so wretchedly bad, that it seemed a miracle we were not overturned a hundred times. One of the wheels sinks into a deep rut, while the other is elevated on a heap of dried mud; then comes a jolt, which would shake the stoutest frame, and break any vehicle built

April. on less firm principles than a calesina. Add to this the usual report, "the road is peopled with robbers," and the pleasure of our jaunt may be conceived. We all travelled in company for sake of security. We passed through San Lucar. The country between that port and St. Mary's is irregular and fertile, but not well cultivated. It is abundantly ornamented with wild flowers of every hue. We arrived at St. Mary's at half-past seven, and as the gates of Cadiz are shut at sunset, it was useless to think of crossing the bay that night. My companion conducted me to the "Three Moorish Kings," where we supped upon fish just taken out of the sea, and had excellent white wine. The beds were not altogether intolerable, at least after the fatigue of four hours and a half's incessant jolting.

12th. We rose the next morning at five, and found that in consequence of the state of the tide, no boat would start for Cadiz before eleven o'clock. There is a bar near St. Mary's, which is dreaded by all the mariners of the port; and unless they have an abundance of water, and weather quite favourable, they never think of passing it. Many vessels have been lost on this bar, which certainly at low water seems rather a formidable one. We therefore engaged a calesina, and proceeded round nearly by the edge of the bay, and over an admirable road through Puerta Real and the Isla de Leon, and along the causeway to Cadiz. The day was bright, warm, and cheering. In passing through Puerta Real, we observed in its little harbour the three Russian frigates which had been sold to Spain to convey her expedition to South America, and which were found so unseaworthy, that the troops refused to embark in them, and proceeded to proclaim the Constitution at Las Cabrezas in this neighbourhood. From Las Cabrezas Riego, by a timely movement, marched to the Isla de Leon, a town well fortified, but stronger from the impracticability of the marshes

in its vicinity than from the nature of its works. From the Isla the Constitution was propagated throughout Spain. April.

When looking at those frigates, which carpenters were now breaking up, one could scarcely avoid observing what remote and unintentional causes sometimes lead to the most important and adverse results. The conduct of the Russian minister in selling to Spain three vessels which were scarcely fit to leave the harbour of St. Petersburg, was it not then the leading cause of the proclamation of the Spanish Constitution? Has that Constitution cost the Emperor Alexander any sleepless nights? Has it compelled him in any degree to increase his multitudinous army? Will the historian of 1900 have to relate, that with the progress of light the free spirit of the Spanish Constitution has overthrown the rule even of the Russian Autocrasy, and has substituted for it a representative system? In the details of that event, can the transaction of the three frigates be forgotten?

From Port St. Mary's to the Isla the aspect of the country is varied, and not uninteresting. On the left-hand, that abrupt cluster of mountains, called the Sierra de Ronda, is seen. Agricultural cultivation has not been carried on in this country to any great extent. It is full of salt marshes, heathy and barren; and the chief occupation of the labouring peasantry is in the salt pans, which belong to wealthy proprietors. The process in these pans is very simple. The sea-water is conducted into a reservoir excavated in the soil, and is there permitted to remain until it is evaporated by sun. The residuum that is left is salt, which is collected and formed into a heap on the land, whence, after a due course of bleaching, it is removed for use.

From the Isla to Cadiz the road is raised on a causeway, the foot of which is washed by the waters of the bay on one side, and by the Atlantic on the other. At the termination of this causeway there is a considerable promontory, upon

April. which stands the beautiful city of Cadiz. We entered it at half-past ten in the morning. In Puerta Real, the Isla, and Cadiz, the houses, though most of them apparently of modern construction, are built after the ancient Moorish fashion; that is, with high parapets, which prevent any part of the roofs from being seen from the street, and frequently castellated, as if it were meant that each man's house should serve literally as his castle. In the late war, when the French troops marched down to form that ineffectual siege of Cadiz, they experienced the fiercest opposition in Puerta Real: the inhabitants fired out upon them in the streets from these household battlements, and every shot told. They in revenge blew down those houses from which they experienced the greatest annoyance; and the ruins still remain to attest the horrors of that sanguinary war.

The beauty of Cadiz consists in the regularity of its streets, the height, uniformity, and external whiteness of the houses, and, above all, in its situation, commanding, on every side but one, a boundless view of the Atlantic. The streets are narrow, a precaution against the heat of the climate; and therefore a necessary imperfection, to which its cause soon reconciles a stranger. The rows of balconies one over the other, and extending along the whole length of the street without interruption, are painted green, and in the season decorated with flowers. They add considerably to the lively appearance of this city.

Upwards of a century ago a temple was commenced in Cadiz, the funds for which were provided from a per centage upon all bullion and money imported from South America. It was designed upon a plan worthy of the best age of Grecian architecture. The roof, the walls, the columns, the altars, were all to consist of marble; and the interior was to be decorated with marble statues, and with paintings of the first order of workmanship. The work was executed to a certain

extent—the walls were raised, the vaulted roof completed; April.
beneath the temple a subterraneous temple of the same extent was constructed *; and, in short, nothing remained to be done but the dome, the windows, the altars, the interior decorations, and the upper part of the tower. But at this point the work stopped about fifty years ago, in consequence of disputes which occurred between the commissioners who had the management of the funds, and it has never since been resumed. If it were completed according to the original plan, it would be considered as one of the most surprising works of art in Europe.

Besides this magnificent shell and the arsenal, there are no public buildings in Cadiz of any importance. The theatre is pretty, and well attended, especially by the ladies, who are in general women of the most voluptuous forms and lovely countenances. I had an opportunity of seeing the whole female population of the place on the Alameda of a Sunday evening, and except in Kensington Gardens, I never saw such a congregation of beauty. The influence of an ardent sun, without darkening their cheeks, sheds over them a transparent brown, which embellishes their fine features. Long black lashes defend from the glare of the light their hazel eyes, which are in themselves as dangerous as any other heavenly orbs, and almost as brilliant.

If the political feeling of Cadiz were to be judged of from external appearances, it must be considered as eminently Constitutional. Over the door of almost every house an article of the Constitution, such as the proprietor selects as appertaining to his trade or profession, or expressive of a favourite principle, is affixed, written in large letters of

* During the siege of Cadiz numbers of the inhabitants took shelter in this subterraneous temple from the bombs, at those hours of the day when the firing usually commenced.

April. gold on a wooden tablet. I observed, without meaning any disrespect to the Constitution, that the tailors and barbers particularly signalized their ardour for the system by large tablets and letters, and more than one article of the code.

Cadiz is surrounded by strong ramparts, which, together with its harbour, which is dangerous to large vessels, render it almost as impregnable by sea as it is by land. There were not many guns mounted; but I reckoned about a hundred pieces of cannon of all weights lying on the ground, which might be rendered available to the exigencies of defence. I observed also several guns which had been left behind by the French, the mouths of which were injured by being fired at. This was an effectual expedient which the French adopted in the latter part of the war, in order to prevent our artillery from turning against them their own batteries. It had been previously the custom to spike abandoned guns; but the British engineers bored out the spikes without injuring the touch-hole, and thus in many cases rendered the spiked guns useful.

Since the separation of the South American colonies from the mother country, the commerce of Cadiz has declined very materially; indeed, speaking in comparison with its former activity, may be said to have perished. I saw no more than fifty vessels in her bay, which in the days of her commercial greatness was seldom beheld without a thousand or fifteen hundred. The population is lessening every day; for as trade is almost extinct, families give up their establishments, and betake themselves to Port St. Mary's, Puerta Real, and other small towns on the coast, where they may live at a greatly reduced expense. In consequence of this emigration, Port St. Mary's and San Lucar are improving. Their trade, as well as that which remains to Cadiz, is chiefly in the exportation of sherry, which is grown at Xeres, a short distance in the interior from this coast. There is

also, I am informed, an extensive system of smuggling carried on at all these ports, from which the revenue officers derive their surest, if not their only income. April.

I staid at Cadiz only three days, and in returning crossed the bay in a sailing-boat to St. Mary's. Before we approached the bar a slight contribution was demanded from the passengers, which was to be appropriated to the celebration of masses for the repose of the souls of those who had perished here. A Pater and Ave were then said, and the sailors, thus fortified, prepared for passing this fatal spot. The boat had waited so long at the other side for passengers that the tide was going out rapidly, and there was scarcely a sufficiency of water to bear her over it. She was a-ground two or three times, but by removing the passengers towards the stern, her poop was kept afloat, and she got over with safety.

The following day the steam-boat started at noon from Bonanza quite full of passengers, most of whom were of a genteel order. At this place the Guadalquivir* is at least a mile wide. Few boats were to be seen upon it. It was of a thick yellowish colour from the late rains, and was rippled into small waves by the wind which was blowing against us. On each side the banks were wooded with pine trees, and here and there were to be seen heaps of salt. As we advanced, the flatness of the country on the right was broken by irregular and dispersed hills, some of which appeared picturesque. We had a distant view of the mountains of the Ronda sprinkled with snow. In a large island on the left we observed numbers of bullocks and horses, and in some of the lesser islands groups of wild bulls, which were destined for the amphitheatre of Seville. When we

* The Spaniards pronounce the word Guadalquivir with the accent on the last syllable.

April. were nearly half way, the wind blew with such force, and raised such high waves in the river, that some of the ladies were as much indisposed as if they were at sea.

As we approached Seville, the Guadalquivir gradually became narrow, and the scenery on its banks rich, varied, and handsome. It is animated with country seats and small villages; but it did not answer those expectations which one of my Spanish fellow travellers from Madrid to Seville had induced me to form. I was admiring a villa, which I thought charmingly situated in the mountains near Cordova, "Wait," said he, "until you go down the Guadalquivir: nothing that you see here, or have seen any where else, is to be compared with the scenery on the banks of that magnificent river. From Seville to San Lucar it is crowded with country seats, lawns, woods, vineyards, hills and vales, which present varied and enchanting prospects every step you advance." He was justified in applying the epithet "magnificent" to the Guadalquivir; but as to the "enchanting prospects" on its banks, they must have been endued with magic power indeed when they could have so far deluded his imagination. We arrived at Seville at ten o'clock at night.

CHAPTER XXI.

RETURN TO MADRID.—RETURN TO IRUN AND LONDON.

THE French had crossed the Bidassoa on the 7th of April, but no official intelligence of that event had reached the government at Seville on the 17th. Reports, however, told the fact, with such confirmatory circumstances, that it was no longer doubted. The Cortes had not yet resumed their sittings, though the greater number of the members were in Seville; but private discussions were immediately entered into as to the propriety of a new removal of the government. April.

Amongst the exaltados there was an eager desire to get rid of the king and his brothers altogether, to call the infant son of Don Carlos to the throne, and in his name rule by a Regency. But those who delivered these sentiments were at the same time preparing for their own emigration to England, in case the French should advance too quickly upon them. Should the Constitutional arms experience any singular good fortune, these plans, and many others, would probably be urged to some sort of maturity; but in the then existing circumstances of the Constitutional force they were idle reveries. The prevailing spirit of the people of Seville was not in favour of *exaltation*. They were very much under the influence of the church, which did not invite their attention to public affairs either for one side or the other, but very much engaged their minds in the duties of their religion. Their fine cathedral was seldom unattended during the earlier part of the day, and the remainder was devoted to business, and to the enjoyments of their beautiful climate.

April. There is a custom in Seville, which is characteristic of the ancient piety of the place. At sunrise a large soft-toned bell is tolled from the tower of the cathedral three times, summoning all the inhabitants wherever they are, or however occupied, to devote a few moments to the performance of a short prayer in honour of the Virgin, called the "Angelus Domini." At the close of evening the bell tolls again, and to a foreigner it is curious and not uninteresting to observe the sudden and fervent attention which is paid in the streets, within and without doors, in the Alameda, on the river, by every body high and low, the idler and the labourer, the horseman and the pedestrian, infancy and age, to this solemn sound. The crowds in the promenade all suddenly stop, and each group repeats within its own circle the consoling prayer. The lover suspends his compliments, the mistress changes her laughing eyes to a demure look, and closes up her fan, the politician breaks off in his argument, the young men are abashed in their gay discourse, and take off their hats, the carriages are drawn up, and all worldly business and amusement are forgotten for about three minutes, till the cheerful tinkling of lighter bells announce that the orison is over.

The Sevillians are not yet initiated into the interests of politics; they seem to have little taste for them, a barbarism of which the Madrid emigrants complained. The church in which the Cortes were to meet belongs to one of the suppressed convents. The want of money was complained of in every department; and so augmented were the difficulties in procuring supplies by the removal of the government, and by the expenses which that event occasioned, that it would seem the whole system would dissolve of itself, if the French should make a near approach to Seville. The idea of a further removal to Cadiz, even if it were to be accomplished, appeared to afford little consolation to any party.

I set out alone in the diligence from Seville on the 17th of April, and on the following morning I heard that a king's messenger had passed by during the night, with despatches for Sir William A'Court. He was the first to bring the certain intelligence of the entry of the French on the 7th, along the whole line of the road. I took some pains to learn the sentiments of such persons as I encountered on the road, and in the villages where they had heard of the entry of the French, and I nowhere could discover the least approach to a feeling of resistance against their aggressors. What they generally said was this—"For our parts, we were persuaded that the French never would enter Spain; but here they are; the government might have prevented it, if they had entered into negotiations; but they are gone down to Seville; they have compromised us; and all we have to do is to make the best of the matter. One thing we are resolved upon—peace, peace." Those who were designated by the name of Serviles, of course, brightened up on the intelligence of the invasion; but the people generally along this line of road belonged to no extreme of party. They were perfectly indifferent as to what might become of the Constitution, the King, and the whole system, provided they were left in their houses, and permitted to live on in tranquillity. April.

At Baylen I was joined by a gentleman who had been acting for some time as secretary to the Political Government of the province of Jaen, an important district in this part of the country. He was a high Constitutionalist, and was going up to Madrid, to act as secretary to Count Abisbal. He told me that, in the province of Jaen, there was no exaltation or enthusiasm for the Constitution; that the Political Government proceeded quietly in the exercise of its authority, without taking notice of any opinions—without seeking for errors to punish, by permitting every man to think just as he chose; that the province was peaceable,

April. and it was the object of the authorities to let it remain so. When my companion heard of the entry of the French, and of their arrival at Vittoria, he seemed to take it with sufficient indifference; but when, on our approaching the capital, he learned that the invaders had proceeded already as far as Burgos, he became, at first, so afflicted, that he could neither eat, drink, or sleep. All his prospects of life, which had hitherto appeared to flatter him, were thus vanished at once; and he made repeated inquiries, as we proceeded, in order to learn if the intelligence were authentic, deploring that he could not fly at once to Madrid to know the whole sum of his fate. To my great surprise, the following morning his countenance was placid, and his manner cheerful. I was at a loss to account for this variation of temper, until he told me that if the news were true, he made up his mind to go to England and teach Spanish. This resolution dissipated from his mind all the clouds that were brooding over it.

I must repeat that every where along the road, such persons as came under my observation, who had heard of the entry of the French, showed no signs of anger or of irritation. The expression of their manner, which is often a surer index to the mind than language, generally showed indifference, sometimes betrayed a secret gladness. Particularly in the faces of the monks and priests I observed a veiled brightness, a bursting, but yet suppressed cheerfulness, quite new to them.

21st. On our arrival at Madrid, I learned from bulletins, which were affixed in print in the most conspicuous places of the capital, that the French had entered Burgos on the 18th, preceded by a party of the Royalists under the command of the famous curate Merino. These affiches were put up by order of Count Abisbal. As soon as he received a despatch containing any intelligence of the movements of the French,

he lost no time in communicating it in this manner to the public. From these sources I also learned that Carlos Espinosa was retreating from Burgos on Madrid with all his troops and ten pieces of artillery. The whole of the establishment of the post-office of Madrid was preparing to go to Seville. A few officers were to remain until the arrival of the French, to superintend the business of the office. Count Abisbal had issued orders, enjoining all militiamen to retire from such parts of the province as might be occupied by the French, under pain of their being considered as accomplices of the enemy, and traitors to the country, and to be dealt with accordingly. It was reported that anonymous threatening letters had been sent to several individuals and families in Madrid, who had been eminently constitutional, assuring them that as soon as the factious should enter they should be assassinated. These letters were, however, said to have originated with the Political Government, in order to excite irritation against the French, and to induce families to quit Madrid. Great numbers were accordingly preparing to take their departure, some for Seville, some for different provinces in the south of Spain. From Biscay and that quarter, families were every day arriving in Madrid, who, from having been compromised in the cause of the Constitution, fled through fear of retaliation. I observed, that in an allocution issued by the Ayuntamiento, it was stated that the French were every where committing depredations and massacres, similar to those which marked the former invasion. They called on the inhabitants to afford them the pecuniary means necessary for their removal, but I believe without any effect. April.

Count Abisbal was mostly at the Pardo, a royal country-seat, two leagues from Madrid, where he had an army of from four to five thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry. They were mostly young conscripts, badly equip-

April. ped, but severely exercised every day in order to fit them with the greatest expedition for active service. Abisbal ordered all the tobacco and salt, which were stored in the custom-house of Madrid, to be sold at one-third under their usual price. The people bought the salt rapidly. The tobacco was going off slowly. This resource, however, did not appear to be sufficient, for Abisbal ordered an extraordinary contribution of eight millions of reals to be levied on the most opulent persons in Madrid. This also failed; and it was reported that the Count had those individuals arrested who refused to comply with this order. The province of Madrid was entirely under military law; the Constitution no longer existed there.

23d. It was fully believed at Madrid on the 23d, that the French were in the mountains of Somosierra, little better than two day's march from the capital; and the belief became more prevalent towards noon on that day, when the inhabitants saw the army of Espinosa, consisting of about one thousand men, retreating through Madrid, followed by ten pieces of artillery. I was witness to the passage of this army and artillery through the principal streets of Madrid, and I did not hear a single viva raised to cheer the men as they passed. The artillery was well equipped—the horses in excellent condition. On this day (23d), the news of the taking of Logrono, and the retreat of Ballasteros, reached Madrid. It was as usual announced by affiches, which crowd after crowd hastened to read. The predominant feature in most of these crowds was intense curiosity. I never heard from any of them that natural burst of indignation against the invaders of their country, which one would have expected to witness under such circumstances. Upon the whole, I thought that the constitutional spirit, which had characterized Madrid, had very much declined during the short interval of my absence. This may have been

caused, in a great measure, by the removal of the govern- April.
ment and the emigration of a great number of families; but certainly no trifling motive for indifference, and even for aversion, was found in the arbitrary and unlawful exactions of the Count Abisbal. The Proclamation of the Provisional Junta, annulling every thing the Cortes had done, and restoring things to the state in which they were previous to the Revolution, had already reached the capital, and excited feelings bordering on despair.

Having been charged with despatches from the minister for the Low Countries, for Baron Fagel, the Dutch minister at Paris; and from Sir Philip Roche, the only member of the British legation remaining in Madrid, for Mr. Canning, I set out from Madrid alone in a light travelling carriage, in the afternoon of the 24th. Soon after passing the 24th.
gates, I overtook a regiment of infantry proceeding towards Alcobendas. I understood that they had been preceded by a squadron of artillery, and two or three other divisions of infantry and cavalry, who were destined to form guerillas in the Somosierra mountains. The road from Burgos to Madrid lies through these mountains, and the entrance of them, on the Burgos side, which is called the gate of the Somosierra, is a road perfectly commanded for a considerable distance from the higher pinnacles of the Sierra, as well as from a kind of natural rampart that runs along its whole extent. Beyond Alcobendas I encountered the squadron of light artillery already mentioned; their commandant examined my passport.

As I proceeded, the night began to draw in, and it was quite dark when I ascended the Somosierra mountains. It was midnight when I got half-way through them; and while the postillions were lazily changing the horses, I walked on towards a large fire which I saw at a little distance, surrounded by men whose arms glanced back the fitful blaze

April. of the green wood that was burning. They told me they were a guerilla party stationed there for the night; that in the morning they were to advance to the gate of the Somosierra, and to defend it against the entrance of the French. The poor fellows were shivering with cold, and they told me of their destination without any marked feeling of anger or of courage. One of them said, in the simplest manner, that if the French were superior in numbers, they had orders to make a false retreat, and draw the enemy after them into ambushes, where other guerillas were secretly situated. Upon returning to look after my cabriolet, I found it surrounded by a party of light horse, and concluded at once that they had orders to prevent travellers from crossing the mountain. Upon a little further examination, however, I found that they were waiting for their companions, who were sleeping in the inn, and that they so stationed themselves for mere convenience, on account of the narrowness of the road. I asked them where they were going; and the answer was, "We do not know." The answer was given in a desponding tone.

25th. I arrived at Aranda de Duero at noon on the 25th, and as I entered the town several persons came up to ask me whether I had met the prisoners who had been carried away from this place towards Madrid. I answered that I had met no prisoners of any description; and upon inquiry, I learned that the persons to whom they alluded were six elderly men of the town, who had been arrested in consequence of their sons, and fifteen or twenty other young conscripts, having deserted, to join the party of the curate Merino. When I asked what was generally thought about the arrival of the French, I was told that the innabitants were all for peace and quietness. Forage in abundance was coming into the town, for which the carriers believed they should be well paid by the French, for whom it was destined.

At Lerma, where I arrived at four in the afternoon, I

found myself, without being aware of it, under the dominion of the restored despotism. The town had been for eight days in possession of a party of Merino's troops, amounting to no more than eighteen or twenty men. The Alcalde, and all the Constitutional Authorities of the place, had ceased to be, and the municipal jurisdiction was entirely in the hands of the officer commanding the company. The men were mostly young, dressed in long blue jackets, turned up with red, with plain white buttons, their caps, clothes, and swords all of French manufacture. On their caps they wore a ribbon, which was inscribed with the words—*Patria, Religion y Rey, es mi ley.* "My country, Religion and King, are my law." I asked them to what party they belonged, and they answered—"We are *factious*, belonging to the curate Merino." I observed that they were all on familiar terms with the people of the village. The commanding officer examined my passport, and did every thing in his power to facilitate my progress. April.

It was nightfall when I approached Sarracin, where I encountered an advanced post of the French army, consisting of about four hundred men. The entrance was guarded by sentinels, one of whom looked into my cabriolet, and asked me if I were alone? Upon my answering in the affirmative, they allowed me to pass on. While the horses were changing, the Colonel commanding the post presented himself to me, and politely requested to see my passport. Upon finding that I had just come from Madrid, he told me that I was the first who attempted to penetrate through the French lines, but that I might be assured of meeting with no sort of impediment to my journey. He asked me—"Whether the Somosierra was fortified?" I answered, "I believed it was not; but that I had passed it during the night, and of course could not answer him with exactness." "Did you meet any guerillas?"—"A few." "Would you have

April. the goodness to tell me whether a report is given in any of the Madrid Journals, that the French army is about to return again to France?"—"I never read any such report —never heard of it." "Is Madrid for the king?" "It is impossible for me to say—it is certainly less Constitutional than it was." I began to find myself in rather an unpleasant situation, for if I were to be catechised in this manner by every French commandant, I should experience great delay; besides, I felt strongly the injustice of this French invasion, and, as an Englishman, experienced a rising pride which forbade me to answer any more questions. I begged, therefore, that he would excuse me; that I was greatly hurried, and requested my passport. He gave it me, and at the same time added—"The duke of Reggio is at Burgos—he would be delighted to have some conversation with you. Might I request that you would be good enough to present yourself to him on your arrival at Burgos, and mention that you have been questioned by me?"—This was going too far. I told him "that I had answered his questions through mere politeness; but that as my government had declared itself neutral in this contest, I could not think of complying with his request. I was passing through the country, and would have nothing to do with either party." He admitted the propriety of this observation, and I drove off.

I arrived at Burgos at half-past nine at night, and after delivering my passport to the proprietor of the hotel, who told me it must be vised by the restored government, I had scarcely taken off my cloak, when a Spanish adjutant presented himself to me all breathless and said, "His Excellency the governor-general of Old Castile has seen your passport, and would feel great pleasure in forming your acquaintance." Without bestowing any reflection on the matter, it remained on my mind that the duke of Reggio

was the personage who sent this invitation, and I declined it April.
on the ground that I was sitting down to supper and was very much hurried. The adjutant, however, returned to the point, and spoke in a strain approaching to command. Upon this I positively refused to go, and observed that I was an Englishman, and acknowledged no authority in the duke of Reggio to compel me to attend his presence. Here the adjutant interposed, and said it was not the Duke of Reggio who wished to see me, but Don Carlos O'Donnel, the governor-general of Old Castile, just nominated to that office by the *true government*. I observed that there would be no use in my waiting on the governor he mentioned. The object of sending this invitation to me was that I might answer questions, and I was resolved to answer none, from whatever quarter they might proceed. Upon this the adjutant went away; and soon after returned with my passport, and requested, in a subdued, imploring tone, dyed to the heart with servile hypocrisy, that I would tell him something about the king. I said that I really knew nothing about the king; but that when I was in Seville, I saw him in excellent health. He then added, that the house of the governor was just by, and that if I would permit him, he would conduct me to it. A certain curiosity to see Carlos O'Donnel, who has been so famous as a factious chieftain, together with the altered tone of the adjutant, induced me to comply so far as to present myself. I accordingly proceeded a few doors from my hotel, preceded by the adjutant and a little boy, with a lantern in his hand. We entered a gloomy antiquated house, and, in a large apartment on the first floor, I found Carlos O'Donnel. An officer and two or three other persons were sitting by the fire; the governor was standing near the table—an elderly man; with a small sharp countenance, dressed in a brown

April. surtout, and distinguished by no peculiar elegance of manners. My friend the adjutant presented me to him, and he addressed me in English. "You are English?"—"Yes."—"I have sent you your passport, and you are at liberty to continue your journey." He said this half asleep and awake: the lamp was almost out, as if it was going to sleep too. I took advantage of the circumstance to apologise if I had detained him from going to bed, and wished him good night. The adjutant was surprised that his Excellency the governor-general of Old Castile permitted me to go away without attempting to ask a single question about the king, and tried to renew the theme. But my "Good night," was returned, and I took my departure. It was a curious fact, that my passport, which was vised by Count Abisbal, as the Constitutional political chief of Madrid, should have been examined by his brother at Burgos, as the Royalist governor-general of Old Castile. Carlos O'Donnel, however, paid so much respect to fraternal feelings as not to sign his name under that of his brother. He merely looked at the paper, and when he saw his brother's signature, gave it back without one observation.

I understood that there were ten thousand men in Burgos, and its neighbourhood, and that the duke of Angouleme was expected to make his entrance in the course of four or five days. I passed under the frame of a triumphal arch, which was preparing for his reception. It was so late at night, I had no opportunity of observing the spirit that prevailed amongst the inhabitants. But it is well known that Burgos at no period was very Constitutional.

From Burgos to Vittoria all the villages of any importance were garrisoned by French soldiers. At Ponte Corvo I met a large convoy of artillery and ammunition, and found sentinels stationed in different parts of the roads between the

villages. Their conduct was uniformly decorous and respectful. In the villages where I had occasion to stop, I encountered no person who did not, at least, say that he was glad that the French had entered Spain. The poor people I heard it more than once observed, never liked the Constitution, because they never gained any thing by it. Since it was established, they had known no peace, and they liked the French, because they paid them well for every thing they consumed. It was also observed, that since the establishment of the Constitution, this part of the country was overrun with robbers; but that all that was now over, as the robbers had disappeared since the French came. It is very certain that the weakness of government, and the want of a regular police, afforded such impunity to malefactors of every sort, since the despotism was overthrown, that this observation is correct as to date, though he must surely be a blind reasoner who would impute the augmentation of crime to the Constitution. April.

After leaving La Puebla, I passed through the whole regiment of Royal Foot Guards, whom I met on the road between that village and Vittoria. They appeared a fine set of young men, and were followed by a large drove of French bullocks destined for the provision of the army.

At Vittoria I found the old government completely reorganised and in operation. Several persons wore white favours, as a proof of their adhesion to the Royalist cause. The town was crowded with troops, amounting in all to ten or twelve thousand men, who were on the move for Madrid. The duke of Angouleme was still here, as was also Quesada. Merino was upon an expedition, some eight or ten leagues distant.

Between Vittoria and the Pyrenees I met a troop of light cavalry, a squadron of lancers, a large convoy of

April. forage for horses, two regiments of infantry, a troop of heavy cavalry, a troop of cuirassiers, all splendidly equipped. Irun was so choked up with troops and artillery, that I found great difficulty in passing through.

I crossed the Bidassoa at noon on the 27th of April, by a temporary bridge of boats which the French had built for their passage; and, after a favourable journey through France, I arrived in London on the 3d of May.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SPANISH SCHOOL OF PAINTING.—SPANISH MUSIC.—PRODUCTS OF THE CLIMATE AND INDUSTRY.—POSTSCRIPT.

BEING in a great measure obliged to follow the order of dates and events in the preceding chapters, I thought it convenient to reserve for the concluding pages such observations as I made during my residence in Spain, upon the state of the arts, and other subjects of a general nature. It would not be doing justice to that interesting and very original country, to omit in a work of this kind all notice of her painting and music, and the products of her climate and industry.

The Spanish school of painting is formed entirely on that of Italy, and may be said to date its origin from the re-union of the two crowns of Aragon and Castile. The monarchy soon after that event assumed a higher station in Europe than in its divided state it had ever before known. Her commerce with Italy, and with the other shores of the Mediterranean, was increased to a very considerable extent; Granada, decorated with Arabian splendour, was conquered, and the new world was discovered. The riches acquired from these sources, particularly the latter, naturally led to the erection of extensive and superb buildings, and the necessity of embellishing them gave a new stimulus to genius to exercise all its faculties of imitation and invention. The neighbourhood of Italy, together with the pre-eminence of her literature and her arts, invited Spaniards to frequent her schools, and they returned imbued with her taste. The

mind of the country was roused to activity by the wars in which she was engaged; and there is little doubt that if at that period Spain had obtained liberal political institutions, she would have been at this day mistress of the continent.

In their early visits to Italy the Spanish students found newly-established the immortal schools of Leonardo Vinci, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, and Corregio. Among those students were Luis de Velasco, of Castile; Luis Vargas, of Seville; Vicente Joannes, and Francisco Ribalta, of Valencia; and the three brothers, Juan, Francisco, and Estefano Perola, of La Mancha; who, though they left after them works which have been eclipsed by those of their successors, have, however, the merit of having exploded the Gothic style, and introduced the models of Italy. In addition to their exertions, numberless Italian artists, both in sculpture and painting, were invited and resorted to Spain, who were employed in decorating the cathedrals and other public buildings. The Escurial, raised by Philip II. is almost exclusively of Italian workmanship, in every department of architecture, painting, and sculpture. With such a number of able professors, Spain arrived in the reign of this monarch to a degree of perfection in the fine arts which was unrivalled by any other country in Europe, except that from which she derived them.

In architecture and sculpture, indeed, a great portion of the Gothic style still presided; but in painting, there was correctness of design, nobleness of character, propriety of form and attitude, a good distribution of groups, and an eloquent truth of expression. The colouring might not have been altogether so fine as that of the Florentine school; but the boldness, brilliancy, and force, of the chiaroscuro were introduced from the schools of Venice and Rome, and the artists generally adopted a free and masterly style.—There was scarcely a royal palace, or a mansion of a

grandee within or without the capital, which was not adorned with fanciful grotesques, magnificent frescoes, pictures, busts, and stuccoes. The cathedrals and other churches were decorated, the windows in some of them painted—the vestments of the altar richly embroidered, the sanctuaries, choirs, and chapels railed in with bronze; the custodias, crosses, chalices, and other ornaments, executed in gold and silver in a manner that did honour to the arts.

It is remarkable that in the seventeenth century, when a vicious style of painting prevailed in different parts of Europe, in consequence of a rage for imitating, without genius to equal, the Bolognese school, the best masters of Spain appeared. Such were Francisco de Herrera, the elder, who handled the pencil with great boldness; Francisco Zurbaran, who followed the taste of Caravagio; and, above all his age, Don Diego Velazquez, a master perfectly original, and inimitable in his tints, in his transcripts of nature, and particularly in his singular faculty of making distance and airy space appear in his pictures. Next to Velazquez, stands the graceful Murillo, who in his early productions imitated him; but who had the courage to depend ultimately upon his own genius, and formed a new style remarkable for sentiment and elegance. Besides these distinguished masters, the Zarinenas, and Jacinto Geronimo de Espinola, Pedro Orrente, and Luis Tristan, produced several works which have brought down their names to our time.

There is a good collection of the productions of these and other Spanish masters in the museum of Madrid, an extensive building in the vicinity of the Prado, which owes its origin to the present king. It is not yet finished, and never will be a handsome edifice, although it was designed upon rather a graceful plan. But that plan was departed from by raising the wings too high; and it has more the appearance of an hospital or a barrack than of a temple of the fine arts. It is divided into different saloons, which are appro-

priated to the Spanish, Italian, Flemish, Dutch, French, and German schools; but those only of the two first are finished, and hung with paintings; the greater number, if not the whole of which, have been contributed from the royal palaces and country seats. The number of pictures in the Spanish school exceeds three hundred—that in the Italian five hundred. It is said that when the other schools are prepared, the king has paintings enough to fill them; and that the whole number will exceed two thousand. His majesty also possesses many pieces of ancient sculpture, chiefly from the gallery of the queen Cristina, which are to be deposited in this museum.

The general merit of the paintings is inferior to that of the paintings in the Louvre; and the reason lies not so much in the character of the masters as in the nature of their subjects, which are for the most part religious. Saints and martyrs, whose portraits are wholly imaginary, occupy a considerable part of the Spanish school, and several of the latter are represented in the attitude of suffering, which produces a disagreeable impression on the mind that no truth of colouring can remove. But there are also in this, as well as in the Italian school, some works which have few rivals in the Thuilleries, or elsewhere.

The picture of Velazquez painting the portrait of the Infanta, Margarita Maria, of Austria, daughter of Philip IV. is, with the exception of La Perla in the Escurial, the finest production of the pencil which I have seen. The Infanta, about the age of eleven years, is seen in the fore-ground, attended by two young female pages, who are sitting on each side of her. Her flowing flaxen hair is negligently ornamented with a bouquet of flowers, and the truth of her features is perfectly preserved in the mild beauty of her eyes, and the pale Austrian cheek, with which the roseate and animated countenances of her young companions form a charming contrast. On the right hand are two dwarfs,

painted to the life, the younger of whom, counting on the averted attention of the princess, is playing with a dog. Two elderly attendants stand behind them in the shade.—On the left hand, Velazquez himself is seen at a distance, with the brush in his hand, the canvas stretched on a frame before him, and his eyes fixed on the Infanta. The frame stands out, and his figure is seen behind it with so much distinctness, that one might almost believe himself present at the living scene. Between Velasquez and the group in the fore-ground, there seems to be actual depth of space and an interposition of atmosphere. The air of the chamber seems to float between them, and over them; thus separating their positions perceptibly, and giving to the apartment depth, height, and spaciousness. This is not all. Behind the princess, in the back of the picture, a door is opened, which leads to a staircase which the king is about to ascend, after casting the gaze of a father upon this interesting scene. One may number the steps of the stairs, and observe their gradual ascent. They shine in light, and if the king were gone, it would seem as if a breath of wind would close the door. This is the peculiar and unequalled art of Velazquez, to make depth apparent by the management of light and shade; and in that respect, as well, indeed, as in the figures and grouping, this picture may be placed amongst the noblest productions of the pencil.

There is a Bacchus crowning drunkards also by this great master, of considerable merit. His landscapes are few, his heads, saints, and portraits numerous, and all bearing the stamp of his genius. Next to Velazquez ranks, by every title, Bartolome Murillo, who had an inexhaustible affection for painting the infant Christ and his virgin mother. There is in this collection, a charming picture of the boy God by this artist, in which he is represented sitting on a stone in a field, his left hand resting on the neck of a lamb, and in his

right hand a slender reed. The divinity shines from the hair, not in a halo, which wherever it is introduced seems to me unpicturesque, but in an irregular emanation of light, which would almost appear to be the brightness of thought. The eyes beam with frankness, wisdom, and love for that human race which he came to save. There are several holy families by Murillo, in which he has represented the child, the Virgin, and Joseph engaged in domestic scenes of a playful and endearing nature. He has also produced several Magdalens, but only one in which he has succeeded. In general, Murillo, as well as other artists, found it difficult to represent a voluptuous figure, which passion had once inhabited and inspired, but whose beauty should be merged under a veil of penitence. The picture to which I allude is numbered 5 in the catalogue of the Museum. It is plain that the eyes had once been taught to reveal the desires of a corrupt heart, that the countenance and form had been endued with every qualification which could captivate a beholder. But their charms are dissolved: the eyes are filled with big tears; the cheeks are faded, stained, and neglected; the bosom is relaxed, and her very flesh weeps.

It is not to be inferred that those pictures of Velazquez and Murillo, which I have mentioned, are the only productions of these celebrated Spanish masters which are worth noticing in the museum of Madrid. Of those of Velazquez I might further enumerate two garden views, the head of an old man, a coach and travellers entering a wood, the portrait of a sculptor, several portraits of Philip IV. marking his advance from youth to age, and a very distinguished representation of Apollo entering the forge of Vulcan, to inform him of the amours of Mars and Venus. To these might be added (passing over his sacred subjects), his admirable pictures of Menippus and Æsop, a courtier delivering a memorial, an idiot girl, and the fool of Coria; the greater

number of which, as well as the picture of Velazquez painting the portrait of the Infanta Margarita Maria of Austria, have been engraved at Madrid in a style worthy of their excellence.

A similar mark of distinction has been paid to the adoration of the shepherds, a gipsy woman with money in her hand, and several of the religious subjects of Murillo.

There are in the Museum several cook-shops and paintings of fruit by Melendez, who would have succeeded admirably in such representations, if he had not introduced into them a little too much of the artificial grace of the French school. The same remark applies, in some degree, to the flower pictures of Bartolome Perez, whose tulips, hyacinths, and lilies are, however, incomparable. He, as well as Arellano, Espinos, and other Spanish flower painters, has contrived to animate his works by decorating the vases, in which the flowers are placed, with scenes from history and romance. There are very few pictures of Zurbaran in this collection, and these not worthy of his fame. His greatest works were to be seen in the convents and churches of Seville before the invasion of Buonaparte; but the brother and generals of that imperial robber carried away, and have never been called upon to restore his productions, as well as the best of Murillo's, which were deposited in the Alcazar and hospitals of that ancient city.

In the museum of natural history in Madrid, there are also some fine paintings; but its principal feature, as the name implies, consists in a collection of fossils, specimens dug from gold, silver, and other mines; and stuffed skins of animals. There is an immense skeleton of a hippopotamus, which is in good preservation, and looks colossal compared with the skeleton of a beautiful Andalusian horse, which is placed near it. Perhaps the most curious exhibition in this

museum is a collection of small stones, in which little landscapes, and figures of men and animals, are seen drawn, as it is said, by the pencil of nature herself. My own belief is, that she had an ingenious assistant; but if they have been originally found in the earth, or by the sea, with these strange impressions upon them, they deserve to be ranked amongst the rarest curiosities in the world.

In would lead to an interesting as well as a useful disquisition, to inquire how it has happened that different musical instruments have become allied with the customs of different nations. The harp may be said to belong to Ireland, the bagpipes to Scotland, the flute to Germany, the violin to Italy, and the guitar to Spain. The high-born Spanish maiden still delights in this harmonious instrument, the soldier takes it with him on his march and into the camp; the muleteer cheers his way over the mountains with its sound; the carriers take it with them in their covered waggons; the barber has one hung up in his shop, with which he amuses himself while waiting for a customer; through every class, from the highest to the lowest, it is preserved with affectionate feelings; it is the symbol of love, the consoler of care, and equally suited to the movements of the fandango and bolero as to the sweetness of Spanish song; or rather the dance and the ballad have followed in their figure and tone the genius of the guitar.

Hence the music of Spain bears a character quite original. The simple air, heard without the harmonies in the chords of the guitar, would seem to a foreigner to possess little merit. There are, indeed, some old airs of Spain which every nation must admire; but, generally speaking, they are pretty, rather than powerful, and they depend a good deal upon the spirit and taste of the performer for their effect. The fandangos, boleros, and rigodoons are gay and

peculiarly pleasing when well executed on the guitar, and the time marked by the motions of dancers, and the blithe sounds of the castanets. These observations, however, chiefly apply to what may be called the ancient music of Spain, as compared with recent compositions. Beautiful as many portions of that music may be, there are none of them superior, nor perhaps equal, in point of melody, to some of the new patriotic compositions. There is a fire, and at the same time a tenderness, in the best of these pieces, which, whatever becomes of the Constitution, promise them an immortality.

I was detained a full hour one day in the streets, listening to two itinerant musicians performing a war song. One of them sung the air and played it at the same time on a violin, while his companion sung also and performed the accompaniment on the guitar. Both were blind, and neither sung nor played with much skill, and yet it was surprising how much effect they threw into the words of the song. The air had occasional bursts of grandeur, which animated their sightless countenances with a flush of inspiration. In the intervals between the verses, the leader recited passages from a prose rhapsody, the object of which was to rouse the Spaniards to the remembrance of those injuries which France inflicted on the Peninsula, during the last war, to flatter them with the event of the contest, and to bid them bind on their swords for the extermination of the approaching invaders. One would be surprised at the attention with which these two bards were listened to. Tears glistened frequently in the eyes of those who were crowded around them.

I could have wished, for the entertainment of the musical reader, that the nature of this work would have allowed the introduction of the notes of this song at least, into these pages. But such an innovation would have drawn down upon me all the wrath of the classical critics; and I shall

therefore limit myself to the insertion of a free translation of the words, for which I am indebted to a poetical friend:

TO THE NATIONAL GUARD OF MADRID.

A FREE TRANSLATION.

Abanzad, abanzad, Companeros!

CHORUS.

March away, march away, gallant brothers,
With the lance in your hands, march away;
Leave slavery, my comrades, to others,
For freedom 's our watchword to-day.

SOLO.

We wore chains; be their memory accurst!
We were slaves, but our hearts were still true;
Freedom spake, and our fetters were burst,
And what Spaniards have sworn, they will do.
Our rights were unpurchased by gore,
Our joy was unclouded by woe;
But ere we 'll be bondsmen once more,
Our hearts' blood in torrents shall flow.

CHORUS.

March away, march away, gallant brothers, &c.

SOLO.

Shall Spain's noble soul be subdued,
If a despot but utter his will?
Let him try, he shall find in his blood,
That freedom 's too strong for him still.
If night once hung over the land,
He shall find that the darkness is gone;
For freedom ascends bright and grand,
And Spain hails her new risen sun.

CHORUS.

March away, march away, gallant brothers, &c.

SOLO.

What has France like the glory of Spain?
What has Russia, a savage and slave?
What has Italy, cursed to the chain?
May her tyrant soon find it his grave!

Let the nations do what we have done;
Let them cling to their rights, as we cling,
With our people, resistless and one,
With our charter, the king of our king.

CHORUS.

March away, march away, gallant brothers, &c.

The air, to which these verses are admirably adapted, is named in the original from the introductory line, "Abanzad, Abanzad, Companeros!" Besides this, there are El hymno del Congreso, and El hymno del Union, both of which are exceedingly beautiful. There are also several other Canciones Patrioticas, as they are called, which, together with those I have mentioned, could scarcely fail to be popular in England, if they were set to English words. I have brought over an ample collection of these compositions, which I have handed to a friend, from whose poetical and musical taste the public may soon expect a volume of Spanish melodies well worthy of their approbation.

With regard to the productive industry of Spain, it may be said to be at present in a languishing state. The discovery of America, and the floods of gold that were poured into Spain from that quarter, arrested her progress in internal manufactures at the time when the Moors had brought them to a singular degree of perfection. Spaniards being enabled by their colonial wealth to purchase the products of foreign industry, paid little attention to the growth of manufactures at home, and indeed disdained such occupations. Since the loss of her colonies, the Peninsula has been up to the present unfortunate moment involved in civil or foreign warfare, which has paralyzed her trade, and prevented her from turning to advantage those boundless resources which her diversified climate, and her mountains and valleys, teeming with corn, oil, and wine, afford. Those resources will never be fully developed until the people of Spain are

tranquil, assured of their possessions, and compelled, by the recognition of the independence of the South American states, to look for wealth at home. When that fortunate day arrives, they will find within their own territory mines infinitely more productive than those of Mexico or Peru.

For instance, not only in every province, but in every farm, I may say, there are different wines of the most exquisite flavour and body, which are not known beyond the gardens where they are grown. The reason is, that from the mountainous nature of the country, there are no cheap means of conveyance. There are no navigable rivers, with the exception of the Guadalquivir, and, I believe, a portion of the Ebro. For the last century a canal has been in progress, for the purpose of facilitating the communications of Aragon with Castile; but it is not yet finished, and it has been found so enormously expensive, that it is not probable the government will soon attempt a similar work in any other part of the country.

Townsend says, that it is a pity to convert any of the Spanish wines into brandy. The remark is just; but from the superabundance of their grapes, the Spaniards are obliged to distil a great proportion of their produce, and the process is so defective, that no foreigner can touch the spirits so manufactured. An improvement in this branch of industry, and new facilities of conveyance by the construction of roads, and the introduction of light waggons, would greatly contribute to increase the wealth of the Peninsula.

Her wools, which formerly were prized in all parts of the world for their fineness, have latterly been little sought after, not only because in other nations, in England and France particularly, the growth of wools has been greatly improved, but also because the wools of Spain have degenerated. This is said to arise from the changes in national property and seignorial privileges, which have been brought about by the

Constitution, and which have done away the licence that the flocks formerly enjoyed to wander over extensive tracts of level and mountainous pastures.

The breeds of cows and oxen are badly distributed through the provinces: in some there are too many, in others too few. In some districts the inhabitants never have cows' milk; they subsist on that of goats, numerous herds of which may be seen in and near Madrid, which supply the capital the greater part of the year. The race of mules and horses has been greatly deteriorated, from a strange policy which infected the government, of confining the horses to gentlemen, and encouraging the propagation of mules amongst the operative classes. The government, as is usual in cases of its unnecessary interference, succeeded in reducing both to a degenerate order. They allowed neither the importation nor exportation of entire horses, and by limiting the breed to those of Spain, they enfeebled it. The saddle-horses are many of them very beautiful animals. Their form is quite Arabian, and their tails are permitted to sweep the ground. But they are unfit for severe labour, and the peasantry know nothing of what we call in England a good roadster, or a good cart-horse.

The harvest of oil may be estimated on an average at about six millions of arrobas *. It may be increased to at least double that amount with facility, and might be constituted a source of immense wealth, as it is an article which all the northern nations want. In the extraction and purification of the oil, the process however which is used in Spain stands in need of alteration. Some diligence has been used in this respect in Andalusia, Valencia, Catalonia, and Aragon; but it cannot be concealed, that the flavour

* An arroba is calculated at twenty-five pounds in weight, and at twelve quarts in liquid measure.

may be rendered much more delicate, and that it requires such an improvement.

The annual produce of Spain in silk does not exceed a million and a half of pounds, though, with suitable encouragement, it might be augmented to a vast extent. The manufacture of linen increases every day: in Galicia they weave annually upwards of six millions of yards. It is not, however, to be compared in texture or fineness with the linen of Ireland: they are not sufficiently acquainted with the chemical process of bleaching, nor have they the machinery necessary for this branch of industry.

In Catalonia the manufacture of cotton made great progress before the commencement of the civil war; and in the royal factories of Guadalajara and Brihuega private individuals had opportunities of seeing English machinery for the manufacture of cloths, which they have imitated with great success in different parts of the country. Their best specimens are indeed inferior to those of England and France; and their method of dyeing is a century behind ours, as they have not yet learned to apply the discoveries of chemistry to that important part of the process.

In speaking of Cadiz, I made some observations upon the foreign trade of Spain, which may be said to be extinct, except in the article of Sherry wine. Her internal trade has been paralyzed by the civil contentions which have vexed her provinces for the last two years. Her population is estimated by the latest census at about eleven millions and a half.

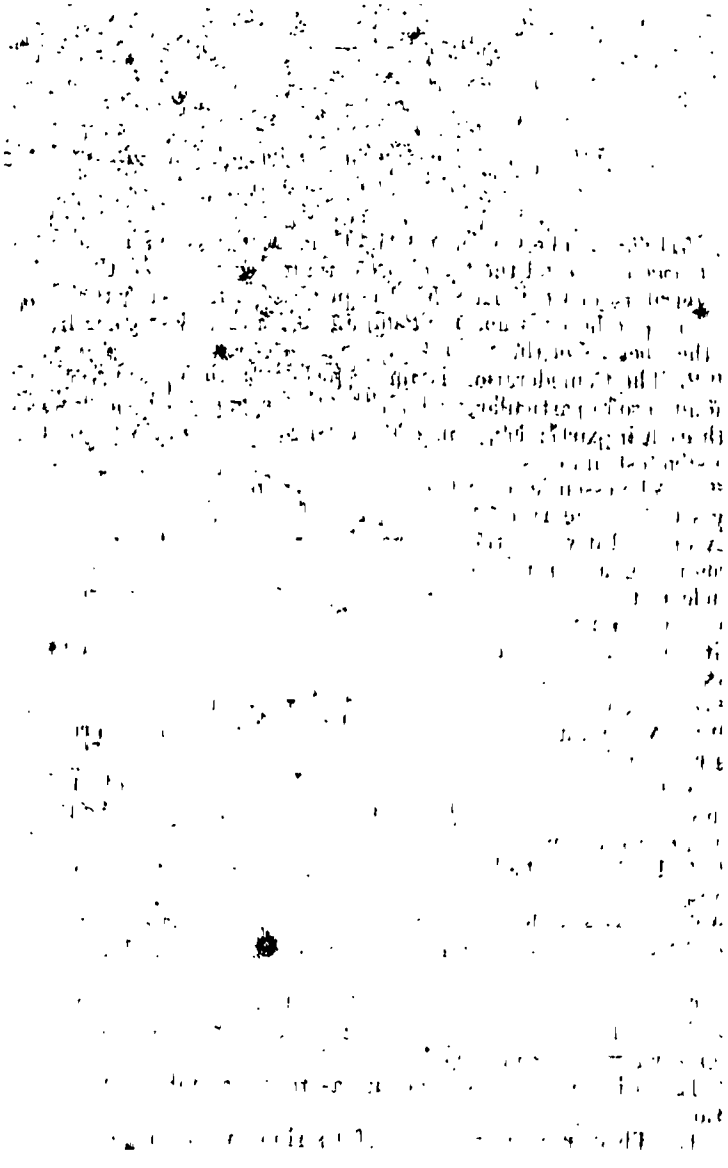
POSTSCRIPT.

In conclusion, I would add, that if the reader have found any parts of the narrative or descriptive matter of this volume familiar to his memory, from having read them before in a respectable and very widely extended journal of London, he will be justified in inferring that they were communicated to that journal by the author of this work.

One word more:—As an eye-witness, who is bound to represent events in the shape in which they came before him, I have been under the painful necessity of relating scenes which I witnessed, and of speaking of the government and finances of Spain, in a manner which her ardent friends in England may think unjust. Upon the latter points, time shall vindicate or condemn my observations; upon the former, I know I have spoken the truth, and I appeal to those impartial English friends who were in Madrid when I resided there.

But if any reader, after perusing these sheets, conclude from them that I am unfriendly to the liberties of Spain, I should regret it extremely. I went to that country perfectly unbiassed; I soon saw that the Constitution was impracticable, and I perfectly agreed with those who wished that it was as much as possible assimilated to the Constitution of England. But I did then abhor, as I do still, and ever shall abhor, the entry of a foreign power armed for the purpose of carrying those improvements into effect. Under such auspices no alterations can be effectual, and I am sure they cannot be for the benefit of freedom.

The French bayonets may prescribe a new Constitution for Spain, but they will write it in sand. As soon as they retire, the tide of liberty will set in again, and break up all their futile and laborious calculations.



APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Principal Articles of "The Statutes of the Confederation of the Spanish Communeros."

"Article 1. The Confederation of the Spanish Communeros is the association of all the Spanish Communeros scattered through the territory of the Spains for the purpose of imitating the virtues of those heroes who, like Padilla and Lanuza, lost their lives for the liberties of their country.

"2. The Confederation is understood to be composed of each Communero in particular, with all the others, and of all the others with each in particular, thus constituting a homogeneous body in the strictest union.

"3. The essential object of the Confederation is to support, at any sacrifice, the rights and liberties of the Spanish people, as they are laid down in the political Constitution of the Monarchy, recognizing as an unalterable fundamental principle the third article of the said Constitution. [This article is as follows:—The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and therefore to it appertains exclusively the right of making its fundamental laws.]

"4. The Confederation is divided into communities.

"5. A community is the assembly of all the Communeros of one merindad.

"6. One merindad is the territory of one province of Spain, according to the geographical division already established, or which is proceeding to be established.

"7. Each merindad is divided into an indefinite number of torres.

"8. A torre is the house where one section of the community assembles, whose maximum will consist of fifty members, and whose minimum of seven.

"9. Every military corps is excepted from this rule, of whatever description it may be, as this will always form one section, of whatever number it may consist.

"12. All Communeros are equal as to their rights and obligations.

"13. Their rights are those of aspiring to all the honorary offices of the Confederation, and of being under its protection.

"14. Their obligations, besides those which they contract by their oaths, are to contribute punctually to the fortress to which they belong, according to the quota appointed to them, for the expenses of the Confederation, unless exempted from it by the competent authority, in consideration of limited means.

"15. Each member is also under the obligation of prudently reminding his brother Communeros of the faults which he observes in their public or private conduct, giving them at the same time the most salutary advice which his experience and his zeal for the prosperity of the Confederation and the honour of the Communeros may dictate.

"16. He is also strictly bound to investigate the causes of the evils which may afflict his country, or impede its happiness, whether it be through the fault of the public functionaries, or through the ignorance of the people concerning their rights, and to propose to the Confederation, in the assembly to which he belongs, whatever measures he deems expedient to remedy them, promoting, by every means in his power, the national prosperity.

"17. Although the Communeros are under the obligation of favouring each other mutually, no one of them shall court the favour or the influence of the Confederation, in order to gain official appointments, since these ought to rest solely on his services and merits: but the Confederation will influence them by all the legal means which are within its reach, in order that they may fall to persons of probity, of enlightened minds, and of known attachment to the constitutional system.

"18. 19, 20, and 21. A Communero may withdraw from the Confederation, but not without the absolute license of the President; he must, in this case, give up all distinctions and documents, which he is at the same time obliged, under the strictest responsibility, to keep secret during his life, so far as they relate to the affairs of the Society, and to do nothing against its institutions.

"22. Every Communero is subject, for his faults, to the penalties laid down in the Code of the Constitution.

"23. The supreme government of the Confederation is representative.

"24. This government is confided to a Supreme Assembly, consisting of one Procurator from each merindad.

"25. In each merindad there will be a Governing Junta, which is to be charged with the government of the fortress in its district."

26. This article determines the manner of constituting the Supreme Assembly, which is to be elected by a majority of the votes of the Procurators of the merindads; points out also its powers, which are to resolve, in common with the other members of the Supreme Assembly, whatever may be deemed expedient to the prosperity of the Confederation.

" 27. The attributes of the Supreme Assembly are—to direct the business of the Confederation according to its institution, and in conformity with the political circumstances of the nation;—2dly, to enforce the observance of the statutes, the rules, and the code of the Confederation;—3dly, to constitute merindads, authorising them with proper patents;—4thly, to grant letters of admission to all the Communeros, and the necessary patents to the torres;—5thly, to communicate its resolutions and measures to the governing juntas; with suitable injunctions for the circulation of, and compliance with, them, in all the sections of their district;—6thly, to receive, apply, and publish the state of the funds, and of their application;—7thly, to change the words, the signs, and countersigns, when necessary;—8thly, to dispense from the payment of contributions such Communeros as may be limited in their means.

" 28. The Supreme Assembly will reside in the capital of the realm, unless a foreign invasion, or an atrocious persecution, on the part of the enemies of liberty, should compel them to establish themselves in some other place.

" 29. The Supreme Assembly cannot deliberate, unless there are present at least two-thirds of its Members.

" 30. The place where it holds its sittings is to be called the Alcazar of the Supreme Assembly.

" 31. The Supreme Assembly will elect from its own body, by an absolute majority of votes, a Commander, a Lieutenant-Commander, an Alcaide, a Treasurer, and four Secretaries.

" 32. It will elect besides three Committees, under the titles of Justice, Vigilance, and Administration.

" 33. The Commander will distribute the business amongst the Secretaries, and will name the extraordinary Committees, which may be necessary for the preparation of the labours, or other objects of the Supreme Assembly; he will take care that order and decorum are observed in the debates; he will give precedency in them, according to the order in which it may have been demanded; he will open and close the sittings with the prescribed forms, and will summon extraordinary meetings whenever he thinks it expedient."

34, 35, and 36, prescribe the duties of the Alcaide (the keeper of the Alcazar, the place where the sittings are held), the treasurer and secretaries: 37, 38, 39, and 40, prescribe the powers of the three Committees above named, which refer only to the internal management of the Confederation.

" 41. In the month of April every year, the Supreme Assembly will issue a report of the points of public utility upon which it has been employed, showing the state of the consolidation and perfection of the Constitutional System and the public property."

42. Immaterial: 43 and 44 prescribe the form of the patent for authorizing the merindads, which are to be signed by the

Supreme Assembly, and sealed with the seal of the Confederation; 45, 46, 47, and 48, prescribe the form of electing and authorizing the governing Juntas of each merindad; 49, each governing Junta will elect a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, an Alcaide, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Committee of Vigilance and Justice (50); the attributes of the Committee are (51) to see that the statutes, &c. are complied with in each merindad, to adopt urgent measures, when circumstances do not permit them to consult the Supreme Assembly; to send up the Act of Recognition from the merindad to the Supreme Authority; to communicate the resolutions and arrangements of the Supreme Assembly to each of the torres within their merindady, to establish torres, and to grant powers to the Procurator of the merindad in the Supreme Assembly, (52) The Act of Recognition from the merindad to the Supreme Assembly will be drawn up in the following terms: "We the Governor and the other members of the governing Junta of N——, assembled in the place of our Sessions to furnish you with our Act of Recognition and obedience, as the Supreme Authority of the Confederation, in virtue of the faculties with which we are invested, we hereby recognize you as the said Supreme Authority, and we promise you, for ourselves, and in the name of this community, to keep and perform, and to cause to be kept and performed, all your decrees, orders and measures, which conformably with the statutes, your knowledge and patriotic zeal shall dictate." Given in a place impenetrable to perfidy. Signed by the Governor, Alcaide, Treasurer, and Secretary. (53, 54) The governing Junta will reside in the capital of its merindad, and the place where it will hold its Sessions shall be called *The Castle of Liberty.*

(55) The Governor distributes the business of the Secretaries, presides at debates, &c.

(56) The Alcaide is charged with the security of the castle, the conservation of its effects, and the custody of the seal of the merindad; he is also to inspect the receipts and expenditures of the treasury, and to recognize all the Communeros who present themselves at the fortress. (57, 58, 59, 60, prescribe the duties of the Treasurer, Secretaries, the Committees of vigilance and justice. (61, 62, 63. When the Governor attends any of the torres within his merindad, he presides at them. The governing Juntas are to send every February, and as often besides as they may deem it necessary, reports of their proceedings to the Supreme Assembly. The governing Junta cannot deliberate, unless the moiety of its Members, and one besides, are present. (64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72. The torres are constituted according to a prescribed form, and are governed each by an Alcaide, a captain of the keys, a treasurer, and secretary. Each torre is to elect a Committee of Vigilance. The Alcaide

presides. The captain of the keys is to recognize the individuals who present themselves at the torre, and to attend them through the forms of their enlistment. Besides the business of complying with the orders and mandates which emanate from the Supreme Assembly, or from the governing Junta, the torres should employ themselves in matters which relate to the defence and support of the Spanish Constitution, proposing to their respective Juntas whatever they deem convenient to that purpose, and conducive to the welfare of the country.

73, 74, 75, 76. Wherever there are three or more Communeros associated, not amounting to seven, they will form a fort, which is to place itself in communication with the nearest torre, and to regulate its operations according to the instructions which it receives from it. The fort is to be governed by a Captain of the keys and a secretary, and may consider propositions relative to the object of the Confederation, which it will send to the torre on which it depends, with such observations as were made upon it during the discussion.

77. In order to be enlisted under the standard of the Confederation, it is necessary that the candidate should be in complete possession of the rights of a Spaniard; that he should be above nineteen years of age; that he should be of proper habits, and have the reputation of an honourable man amongst his companions; that he should be some trade or profession, or should have an income upon which he subsists; that he should be attached to the Constitutional System of the monarchy, and should abhor tyranny under whatever form it appears; that he should take the oaths of the Institution, and subject himself to the proofs and formalities which the regulations for this act require.

78. Every Communero has the faculty of proposing for enlistment in the Confederation any Spaniard whom he considers worthy, according to the qualifications required by the statutes.

79. The Communero who intends to propose a member ought previously to have informed himself of his political opinions, and his decision in the cause of liberty; but he will apprize him of the object of the Confederation only in a vague manner, without discovering its nature or circumstances, or the persons of which it is composed.

80. The propositions for admitting candidates shall be in writing, and signed by the proposer, and shall state the name of the candidate, his age, his trade or profession, the place of his birth, and his residence.

81, 82, 83, refer to the means for ascertaining the character of the candidate, and if it be found unobjectionable, it is passed to the Commission of Vigilance (84), who shall report upon it within five days after (85). If the proposition shall be approved by six out of seven parts of the votes of the Communeros present at the time, it shall be passed to the Governing Junta (86, 87), and if approved by two out of three parts of the Communeros

present, it shall be sent back to the torre, which (88) shall proceed forthwith to the enlistment.

"89. Before the act of enlistment shall commence, the candidate shall sign, in the Guard-room, the following oath:—'I swear to keep secret, during my life, whatever I have heard or understood from the time that I determined to offer myself for admission to this assembly, and also whatever I may see or understand hereafter relative to it.—Sworn and signed.'

"90. The ceremonies of enlistment being gone through, he will make and sign the oath of the Communeros in the following terms:—'I swear before God and upon my honour, before this assembly of Spanish Communeros, that I will guard and defend, at every hazard, and by every possible means in my power, wherever I shall be, whether alone or in company with confederates, the rights and liberties of the Spanish nation, and of Spaniards in particular, as they are laid down in the political constitution of the monarchy, recognizing, as an unalterable basis, that the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and therefore to it exclusively belongs the right of establishing its fundamental laws, as it is literally explained in the third article of the same. I swear also to guard and obey the statutes and regulations of the Confederation, and such orders conformable with them which are given to me by the Authorities of the said Confederation. I swear likewise to preserve during my life the most inviolable secresy with respect to all the affairs of the Confederation; and I further swear to maintain unalterable union and fraternal friendship with all confederates, assisting them with my person and property in all dangers and necessities; and submitting to amicable conciliation any complaint or resentment which I may have against one or more of them. And, lastly, I swear to maintain and defend, at every hazard, the aforesaid, and, imitating the illustrious Padilla and Lanuza, to die with arms in my hand sooner than submit to tyranny. And if I should fail to perform these solemn oaths, I declare myself a perjurer and a traitor to the Confederation, and deserving to be ignominiously expelled from it, and subject to such other penalties as it might inflict.—Sworn and signed.'

"91. Every Communero shall, upon his enlistment, make a donation to the Confederation according to his means, but not under 40 reals vellon."

92, 93, 94, 95, 96, direct that the enlistments be commenced by the supreme authority, the form of the letter of admission to be granted by the same to the new Communero, accompanied by a distinction; forbid the proposition of a rejected candidate a second time in the same year; make certain provisions in case a candidate who has been approved of should refuse to comply with the ceremonies of enlistment, and authorise the supreme authority to dispense with these forms in certain exigencies.

97 to 106, regulate the manner of electing the different functionaries, who are to take the following oath:—'I swear to keep in the most profound secresy, however dangerous the circumstances in which I may be placed, whatever may be confided to me relative to the exercise of my office, and to transmit faithfully to my successor such information concerning it as may be intrusted to me.'

107 to 110, prescribe the form of submitting propositions for discussion, and of voting upon them.—111 to 120 refer to the sessions, which, in ordinary cases, are to be held twice a week, but oftener if extraordinary circumstances should render them necessary; to the days on which they are to be held, and the manner in which they are to be conducted.

121, 122. Each merindad is to pay 500 reals for its patent; each torre 60 reals for its letter; for each letter of recognition 60 reals; for the seals of the merindad and the distinction of each Communero their just value, and each member 4 reals per month. 123, 124, 125, not material. 126 to 133 regulate the administration of the funds. 134 to 155 regulate the mode of correspondence, the archives, and the means of enforcing the statutes.

The following are the principal rules for the interior government of the Confederation.

"3. In the place of arms, the Session Chamber of the Assembly, there shall be various inscriptions to record the glorious actions of the heroes of the Confederation. In the front there shall be placed a sepulchral urn, in which shall be deposited the ashes of the most illustrious Communeros, if they can be obtained, as well as the documents relating to their deeds of heroism; and, in defect of the former, an image shall be substituted. At a short distance from the urn shall be placed a table covered with purple tapestry, on which shall be placed a shield painted with the arms of the Confederation, and also the seal of the society; five chairs for the presidents and officers shall be arranged at its extremity, and along its side benches. At the end of the benches shall be placed three cylindrical towers with battlements, of a height proportioned to the chamber, equi-distant from each other, and in a line. On the middle one shall be inscribed, *the Constitution of the Monarchy;* on the right hand one, the third article of the Constitution of the Monarchy; and on the left hand one, *the Confederation sustains at any Sacrifice the Rights and Liberties of the Spanish People.* In each tower shall wave a standard of the Confederation, purple with a white castle in the centre. The door shall be fortified by a portcullis and drawbridge, which shall be raised during the sittings, and guarded by five lancers.

"13. The sittings shall be arranged in such a manner that they can never be surprised; to which end the presidents shall appoint guards proportioned to the respective strength of the communities.

"14. Before opening the session, the officers of the guard will place a sentinel with a lance in the guard-room, whom they will direct to permit no person to enter without previously giving the sign and countersign, and unless invested in his proper insignia.

"17. The presidents will open the sessions in a loud and solemn tone, according to the following formula: 'Companions! In a fatality defeated the endeavours of our heroical predecessors in the field of Villalar. Three ages of despotism and slavery followed that unfortunate event; and although the nation, conducted to the brow of the precipice, recovered its liberty in the year 1808, at the expense of such great sacrifices, yet in the year 1814 our want of prudence and energy plunged us afresh into the deep abyss of slavery. Six years of blood and desolation passed over us, until we saw again our liberties re-established in the code of our rights—the Spanish Constitution. Let us be on the alert, and let us resolve to die sooner than consent to the privation of this deposit of our liberties, which has consecrated the national sovereignty as an immutable principle. Do you swear it, Communeros?' 'Yes, we swear it!' they shall all answer, putting their hands on their swords.

"22. The session shall be closed with the following form: 'Let us retire, Communeros, to give rest to our minds, and to repair the strength of our bodies, that we may return with fresh vigour to the defence of our country's liberties.'

Several of the succeeding articles are taken up with regulating the manner of carrying on the correspondence with the different branches of the Confederation.

"60. The manner of conducting the enlistment is this: the previous requisites having been gone through, the Captain of the Keys will proceed to the guard-room, where the candidate is placed, and will point out to him the grave obligations which he is about to contract, giving him to understand that when once he has taken the oath of the Communeros, he is responsible for his compliance with the laws of the Confederation. If the candidate shows that he is determined, he will sign the oath already specified.

"61. The candidate will then be left alone in the guard-room, on the table of which there will be placed a copy of the statutes, that he may examine them.

"62. After giving him time for reflection, a paper will be presented to him to sign, containing the following questions:—1. What are the most sacred obligations which a citizen owes to his country?—2. What punishment would you inflict on him who fails in these obligations?—3. How would you reward him who would sacrifice every thing to comply with them strictly?

"63. The candidate (or rather the recruit, as it is expressed) shall answer in writing; which, after being read in the assembly,

shall be approved of, if it be conformable with the principles of the Confederation."

63 to 70. The recruit is then introduced into the chamber of the assembly with various ceremonies; when these are finished, the members shall rise from their seats and take their arms in their hands, while the president shall say, 'You are now a Comunero: and in proof of it, all the Communeros will defend you from all the strokes which malignity may aim at you, if you comply with your oaths; but if not, you will suffer the penalties which are found in the code corresponding with your faults against the Confederation.' The new member is then invested with a decorative scarf, after which the Captain of the Keys will place the standard in his left hand, telling him, 'This is the invincible and glorious standard of the Confederation of Communeros, dyed in the blood of Padilla. Your country and the whole Confederation hope that you will imitate that hero, by meeting death sooner than see this glorious standard outraged by any tyrant.' He is finally invested with the sword by the Alcaide, who says, 'This is the sword of your country; I deliver it to you, that you may defend the liberties marked out in the constitution of the monarchy, and the sacred principle that the sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. The Confederation confides in your honour; but if you fail in your obligations, may the SUPREME BEING, who sees your heart, pursue you to your destruction!"

With respect to the penal code of the Confederation, its penalties are ignominious expulsion, forced dismissal, tacit dismissal, warning, public reparation, private reparation, public censure, private censure, attendance at three meetings without voice or vote, fines from four to forty reals vellon, and secret warning. He who conspires directly and overtly (5th article) to destroy or alter those statutes of the Confederation, which are identified with the constitution of the monarchy, shall be considered as a traitor to his oaths, and condemned moreover to the punishment of ignominious expulsion and the privation of his letter and scarf; his name shall be erased wherever it may be found, and his guilt shall be mentioned to all confederates, in order that, carefully watching his conduct, they may persecute him on every occasion as a dangerous person, and as inimical to the interests of the whole society of freemen. Minor shades of guilt are punished by minor penalties, and proper tribunals are constituted for trying the culprits and awarding their chastisement.

No. 2.

FRENCH DESPATCH.

The President of the Council of Ministers, charged, ad interim, with the Portfeuille of Foreign Affairs, to M. the Count de la Garde, Minister of the King, at Madrid.

"M. le Comte.—Your political situation being changed, in consequence of the resolution taken at Verona, it is becoming French sincerity to charge you to acquaint the government of his Catholic Majesty with the dispositions of the government of his Most Christian Majesty.

"Since the revolution, which took place in Spain in the month of April, 1820, France, notwithstanding the dangers with which the revolution threatened her, has used all her efforts to strengthen the ties which united the two kings, and to maintain the relations which existed between the two nations.

"But the influence under which the changes were operated, which have taken place in the Spanish monarchy, is become more powerful by the very results of these changes, as it was easy to foresee.

"A Constitution, which King Ferdinand had neither recognised nor accepted when he resumed the crown, was afterwards imposed upon him by a military insurrection. The natural consequence of this fact has been, that every discontented Spaniard has thought himself authorised to seek, by the same means, the establishment of an order of things more in unison with his opinions and his principles. The employment of force has established the right of force.

"Hence the movements of the guards at Madrid, and the appearance of armed corps in different parts of Spain. The provinces bordering on France have chiefly been the theatre of civil war. This state of confusion in the Peninsula has placed France under the necessity of putting herself in a state of security. The events which have taken place since the establishment of an army of observation at the foot of the Pyrenees have sufficiently justified the precautions of his majesty's government.

"Meantime, the Congress, announced last year to determine on the affairs of Italy, met at Verona.

"France, as an integral part of this Congress, had of course to explain the reason of the armaments to which she had been forced to have recourse, and the eventual use she might make of them. The precautions of France have appeared just to her allies, and the Continental powers have taken the resolution to unite with her to aid her (if it should ever become necessary) to maintain her dignity and her repose.

"France would have been contented with a resolution at once so kind and so honourable to her; but Austria, Russia, and Prussia, have judged it necessary to add to the particular act of the alliance a manifestation of these sentiments. Diplomatic notes are, with this view, addressed by these three powers to their respective ministers at Madrid, who will communicate them to the Spanish government, and will follow in their farther conduct the orders they shall have received from their court.

"As for you, M. le Count, in giving these explanations to the cabinet of Madrid, you will say to it, that the government of the king is intimately united with its allies in the firm resolution to repel by every means revolutionary movements and principles; that it is equally united with its allies in the wishes which they form, that the noble Spanish nation may find within itself a remedy for its evils, which are calculated to alarm the governments of Europe, and oblige them to take precautions that are always painful.

"You will, above all, take care to declare that the people of the Peninsula, when restored to tranquillity, will find in their neighbours true and sincere friends. In consequence, you will give to the Cabinet of Madrid the assurance that assistance of all kinds which France can afford to Spain shall be always offered to it to insure its happiness, and to increase its prosperity: but you will declare, at the same time, that France will not relax, in any point, the measures of preservation which she has taken, so long as Spain shall continue to be torn by factions. The government of his Majesty will not even hesitate to recall you from Madrid, and to seek its guarantees in more efficacious measures, if its essential interests continue to be compromised, and if it loses the hope of an amelioration, which it takes pleasure in expecting from the sentiments which have so long united the Spaniards and the French in the love of their Kings, and a wise liberty.

"Such, M. le Comte, are the instructions which the King has ordered me to transmit to you, at the moment when the Notes of the Cabinets of Vienna, Berlin, and St. Petersburgh, are going to be delivered to that of Madrid. These instructions will serve you to make known the dispositions and the determination of the French government on this important occasion.

"You are authorised to communicate this despatch, and to give a copy of it, if you should be asked for it.

"Paris, 25th December, 1822."

Despatch from the Count de Nesselrode to the Charge d'Affaires of Russia, at Madrid, dated Verona, the 14th (26th) November, 1822.

The Sovereigns and the Plenipotentiaries assembled at Verona, in the firm intention of consolidating, more and more, the peace which Europe enjoys, and to prevent whatever might tend to

compromise that state of general tranquillity, were led, from the first moment of their assembling, to direct their anxious and serious attention towards an ancient monarchy, which had been agitated with internal commotions during two years, and which could not but excite, in an equal degree, the solicitude, the interest, and the apprehensions of the other Powers.

When, in the month of March, 1820, some perjured soldiers turned their arms against their Sovereign and their country, to impose upon Spain laws which the public reason of Europe, enlightened by the experience of ages, stamped with its highest disapprobation, the allied Cabinets, and particularly that of St. Petersburgh, hastened to point out the calamities that would follow in the train of institutions which consecrated military revolt, by the very mode of their establishment.

These fears were but too soon and too thoroughly justified. They are no longer theories nor principles, which are now to be examined and approved. Facts speak aloud; and what feeling must they not inspire in every Spaniard who yet cherishes a love for his king and country! What regret must be experienced at the ascendency of the men who have brought about the Spanish Revolution!

At the moment when a deplorable success crowned their enterprise, the integrity of the Spanish monarchy was the object of the Spanish government. The whole nation participated in the wishes of his Catholic Majesty; all Europe had offered him an amicable intervention to restore for him, on solid basis, the authority of the mother country over distant regions which formerly constituted her wealth and her strength. Encouraged, by a fatal example, to persevere in rebellion, the provinces where it had already broken out found, in the events of the month of March, the best apology for disobedience, and those which had remained faithful immediately separated from the mother country; justly afraid of the despotism which was about to oppress its unfortunate Sovereign, and a people whom rash innovations condemned to traverse the whole range of revolutionary disasters.

To the disorders of America were soon added the evils that are inseparable from a state of things where the conservative principles of social order had been forgotten.

Anarchy appeared in the train of revolution; disorder in the train of anarchy. Long years of tranquil possession soon ceased to be a sufficient title to property; the most sacred rights were soon disputed; ruinous loans and contributions, unceasingly renewed, soon attacked both public wealth and the fortunes of private individuals. As was the case at that epoch, the bare recollection of which makes Europe shudder, religion was despoiled of her patrimony; the throne of popular respect; the royal dignity was outraged; and authority was transferred to assemblies where the blind passions of the multitude seized upon the reins of government. Lastly, and to complete the parallel with those

days of calamity, so unhappily re-produced in Spain, on the 7th of July, blood was seen to flow in the palace of the King, and a civil war raged throughout the Peninsula.

During nearly three years, the Allied Powers continued to flatter themselves that the Spanish character—that character so constant and so generous, when the safety of the country was in question, and lately so heroic when it struggled against a power produced by revolution—would show itself at last, even in the men who had the misfortune to betray the noble recollections which Spain might proudly recall to every nation in Europe. They flattered themselves that the government of his Catholic Majesty, undeceived by the first lessons of a fatal experience, would adopt measures, if not to stop, by one common effort, the numerous calamities which were bursting upon them from all sides, at least to lay the foundations of a remedial system, and to secure gradually to the throne its legitimate rights, and its necessary prerogatives; also, to give to subjects adequate protection, and to property indispensable guarantees. But those hopes have been utterly falsified. The lapse of time has only brought with it fresh injustice; violence has been increased; the number of victims has frightfully augmented; and Spain has already seen more than one warrior, and more than one faithful citizen, hurried to the scaffold.

It is thus that the revolution of the 9th of March went on, day by day, hastening the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, when two particular events occurred which excited the most serious attention of foreign governments.

In the midst of a people to whom devotion to their kings is an hereditary sentiment; a people who, for six successive years, shed the noblest blood to recover their legitimate monarch;—that monarch and his family were reduced to a state of notorious and almost absolute captivity. His brothers, compelled to justify themselves, were daily menaced with the dungeon or the axe, and imperious commands forbade him, with his wife dying, to quit the capital.

On the other hand, in imitation of the revolutions of Naples and Piedmont, which the Spanish conspirators constantly represent as their own work, we hear them announce that their plans of subversion have no limits. In a neighbouring country they strove with unremitting perseverance to encourage tumults and rebellion. In more distant states they laboured to create accomplices; the activity of their proselytism was every where felt; and every where it produced the same disasters.

Such conduct would, of necessity, excite general reprobation. Those Cabinets which sincerely desired the good of Spain intimated, during two years, their sentiments, by the nature of the relations which they maintain with its government. France saw herself obliged to confide to an army the protection of her frontiers; and probably she will be compelled also to confide to it the

task of putting an end to those provocations which have rendered it necessary. Spain herself has rebelled, in some parts, against a system which is foreign to her habits, to her known loyalty, and to her entirely monarchical traditions.

In this state of things, the Emperor, our august master, has determined to take a step which cannot leave to the Spanish nation any doubt as to his true intentions, nor as to the sincerity of the wishes he entertains in her behalf.

It is to be feared that the dangers arising from vicinity, which are always imminent, those which menace the Royal Family, and the just complaints of a neighbouring State, will terminate in creating, between him and Spain, the most grave embarrassments.

It is this painful extremity which his Majesty would avoid, if possible; but, as long as the King is not in a condition to express freely his will; as long as a deplorable order of things facilitates the efforts of the artists of revolutions, who are united by one common bond with those of the other countries of Europe, to trouble its repose, is it in the power of the Emperor, is it in the power of any monarch, to ameliorate the relations of the Spanish government with foreign powers?

On the other hand, how easy would it be to attain this essential end, if the King recovered, with his perfect liberty, the means of putting an end to civil war, of preventing a foreign war, and of surrounding himself with the most enlightened and the most faithful of his subjects, in order to give to Spain those institutions which her wants and her legitimate wishes require.

Then, free and tranquil, she could not but inspire Europe with the security which she would herself enjoy; and then, too, the Powers which now protest against the conduct of her government would be eager to renew with her relations truly amicable and founded upon mutual good will.

It is a long time since Russia announced these grand truths to the attention of Spaniards. Never had their patriotism higher destinies to fulfil than at this moment. What glory for them to conquer revolution, a second time, and to prove that it can never exercise dominion in a country where ancient virtues, an indelible attachment to principles which guarantee the duration of society, and respect for a holy religion, will always triumph over anarchical doctrines, and the artifices employed to extend their fatal influence. Already one portion of the nation has declared itself. It only remains for the other portion to unite instantly, with their King, to deliver Spain—to save it—to assign it, in the great European family, a place so much the more honourable, because it would be snatched, as in 1814, from the disastrous triumph of military usurpation.

In directing you, M. le Comte, to communicate to the Ministers of his Most Catholic Majesty the sentiments developed in this despatch, his Majesty is willing to believe that neither his intentions nor those of his allies will be misinterpreted. In vain

will malevolence endeavour to represent them in the light of foreign interference, which seeks to dictate laws to Spain.

To express the desire of seeing a protracted misery terminate, to snatch from the same yoke an unhappy Monarch, and one of the first among European nations, to stop the effusion of blood, and to facilitate the re-establishment of an order of things at once wise and national, is certainly not attacking the independence of a country, nor establishing a right of intervention against which any Power whatever would have reason to protest. If his Imperial Majesty had other views, it would rest with him and his allies to let the Spanish revolution complete its work. Very soon every germ of prosperity, of wealth, and of power, would be destroyed in the Peninsula; and if the Spanish nation can suppose these hostile designs to be entertained, they should look for the proof of their existence in the indifference and the inaction of their allies.

The reply that will be made to the present Declaration must decide questions of the very highest importance. Your instructions from this day will point out the determination that you are to make, if the dispositions of the public authority at Madrid reject the means which are offered for securing to Spain a future tranquillity, and an imperishable glory.

Despatch of M. the Prince de Metternich, to the Chargé d'Affaires of Austria, at Madrid, dated Verona, the 14th December, 1822.

The situation in which the Spanish monarchy finds itself, in consequence of the events which have transpired in that State during the last two years, was an object of too paramount importance not to have seriously occupied the attention of the Cabinets assembled at Verona. The Emperor, our august master, has desired that you should be informed of the view which he takes of this momentous question, and it is to fulfil his desire that I address to you the present despatch.

The revolution of Spain was judged by us from its origin. Conformably to eternal decrees, good can never arise to States any more than to individuals from a disregard of the first duties imposed upon man in social order: the amelioration of the condition of subjects should not be commenced by criminal illusions, by perverting opinion, and by misleading the conscience; and military revolt can never form the basis of a happy and durable government.

The revolution of Spain, considered solely in regard to the destructive influence which it has exercised over the kingdom which has experienced it, would be an event worthy the undivided attention and interest of foreign Sovereigns; for the prosperity or the ruin of one of the most interesting States of Europe cannot be, in their eyes, an indifferent alternative; only the enemies of Spain, if possibly she have any, could be capable of regarding, un-

moved, the convulsions which prey upon her. A just repugnance, however, to meddle with the internal affairs of an independent nation, would perhaps influence these Sovereigns not to pronounce on the situation of Spain, if the evil operated by her revolution was concentrated, or could be concentrated, within her territorial limits. But this is not the case; this revolution, even before it arrived at maturity, had been the cause of great disasters in other States; it was this revolution, which by the contagion of its principles and of its example, and by the intrigues of its principal partizans, created the revolutions of Naples and Piedmont; it was this revolution which would have excited insurrection throughout Italy, menaced France, and compromised Germany, but for the intervention of the Powers which preserved Europe from this new conflagration. Every where the destructive means employed in Spain to prepare and consummate the revolution have served as a model to those who flattered themselves that they were paving the way to new conquests. Every where the Spanish Constitution has become the rallying point, and the war whoop of faction, combined alike against the security of thrones, and the repose of subjects.

The dangerous impulse which the Spanish revolution had given to the whole south of Europe placed Austria under the painful necessity of having recourse to measures which ill accorded with the pacific course which she would desire invariably to pursue. She has witnessed a portion of her dominions surrounded by sedition, and fettered by incendiary plots, and on the very eve of being attacked by conspirators, whose first efforts were directed against the frontiers. It was only by great efforts and great sacrifices that Austria succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity in Italy, and in defeating projects, the success of which would have been any thing but indifferent, as to the fate of her own provinces. Besides, in the questions relative to Spain, his Imperial Majesty cannot do otherwise than support the same principles which he has always so decidedly manifested. Even in the absence of any direct danger to the people confided to his care, the Emperor will never hesitate to disavow and reprove what he thinks false and culpable, in regard to the general interests of human society. Faithful to the system of preservation and peace, for the maintenance of which he has contracted inviolable engagements with his august Allies, his Majesty will never cease to consider disorder and subversions, whatever portion of Europe may be the victim of them, as an object of deep solicitude for all governments; and whenever the Emperor can make his views manifest amid the tumult of these deplorable crises, he shall think that he has fulfilled a duty with which no consideration can induce him to dispense. It would be difficult for me to believe, M. Count, that the declared judgment of his Imperial Majesty on the events which are passing in Spain can be misunderstood or misinterpreted in that country. No object of private interest,

no conflict of reciprocal pretension, no sentiment of mistrust or jealousy, can inspire in our Cabinet an idea in opposition to the welfare of Spain.

The House of Austria has only to turn to the annals of its own history, to find the most powerful motives of attachment, regard, and good-will towards a nation, which may, with just pride, recall those centuries of glorious memory, in which her sun of grandeur never set; towards a nation, which, powerful in respectable institutions, hereditary virtues, religious sentiments, and in love to her Kings, has rendered herself illustrious in every age by a patriotism always loyal, always generous, and very often heroic. During a period still recent, this nation astonished the world by the courage, devotion, and perseverance, which she opposed to the ambitious usurper, who endeavoured to deprive her of her monarch and her laws; and Austria will never forget how useful was the noble resistance of the Spanish nation, at a time of great danger to herself.

It is not to Spain, either as a nation or as a power, that can be applied the severe language which is dictated to his Imperial Majesty by his conscience and his love of truth; it applies only to those who have ruined and disfigured, and who persist in prolonging her sufferings.

On meeting his august Allies at Verona, his Majesty the Emperor has had the happiness again to find in their councils the same tutelary and disinterested dispositions which have constantly guided his own. The tone of the despatches which will be addressed to Madrid will vouch for this fact, and will leave no doubt of the sincere anxiety of the Powers to serve the cause of Spain, by demonstrating to her the necessity of pursuing a different course. It is certain that the grievances which oppress her have lately augmented in fearful progression. The most vigorous measures, the most hazardous expedients, can no longer give authority to her administration. Civil war rages in several of her provinces; her relations with the greatest portion of Europe are deranged or suspended; and her relations with France have even assumed so problematical a character as to justify serious disquietude respecting the consequences which may thence result.

Would not such a state of things justify the most fatal forebodings?

Every Spaniard, who knows the real state of his country, ought to feel that, in order to burst the fetters which now bind the monarch and his subjects, Spain must terminate that state of separation which has been the result of late events. The relations of confidence and sincerity must be re-established between her and the other governments; relations which, by guaranteeing, on the one hand, her firm intention to associate herself in the common cause of the European monarchs, may, on the other hand, furnish the means of estimating her real will, and of rejecting

every thing calculated to pervert and restrain it. But to attain this end, it is especially indispensable that her King should be free, not only as regards that personal liberty which every individual may claim under the reign of the laws, but that liberty which a Sovereign ought to enjoy in order to discharge his high vocation. The King of Spain will be free from the moment that he shall have the power of putting an end to the evils which afflict his subjects, of restoring order and peace in his kingdom, of surrounding himself with men equally worthy of his confidence by their principles and talents, and finally, of substituting for a regime, acknowledged to be impracticable even by those whom egotism or pride still attaches to it, an order of things in which the rights of the monarch shall be happily blended with the real interests and legitimate views of all classes of the nation. When this moment shall arrive, Spain, wearied by long sufferings, may flatter herself with re-entering into full possession of the advantages which Heaven has allotted her, and which the noble character of her inhabitants insures to her; then will she be restored to those relations which unite her to all the European Powers; and his Imperial Majesty will congratulate himself upon having nothing left to offer her but the wishes which he entertains for her prosperity, and all the good services which he may have it in his power to render to an ancient friend and ally.

You will, M. Count, make of this despatch a use the most appropriate to the circumstances in which you may find yourself on receiving it. You are authorized to read it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, as well as to give him a copy, should he ask it.

Despatch from M. the Count de Bernstoff to the Prussian Charge d'Affairs at Madrid, dated Verona, Nov. 22, 1822.

Sir,—Among the objects which fixed the attention and demanded the anxious solicitude of the Sovereigns and Cabinets assembled at Verona, the situation of Spain, and its relations with the rest of Europe, have occupied the first place.

You know the interest which the King, our august master, has never ceased to take in his Catholic Majesty, and in the Spanish nation.

This nation, so distinguished by the loyalty and energy of its character, illustrious from so many ages of glory and virtue, and always so celebrated for the noble devotion and heroic perseverance which made it triumph over the ambitious and despotic designs of the usurper of the French throne, possesses claims too venerable and too solid to the interests and regard of all Europe, to permit that its Sovereigns can view with indifference the miseries that actually oppress it, and those with which it is menaced.

An event the most deplorable has subverted the ancient basis of the Spanish monarchy; compromised the character of the

nation; and attacked and poisoned public prosperity in its very sources.

A revolution, which sprung from military revolt, has suddenly broken all the bonds of duty, overthrown all legitimate order, and dissolved the elements of the social edifice, which cannot fall without covering the whole country with its ruins.

It was thought possible to replace this edifice by extorting from a Sovereign, already despoiled of all real authority and of all free will, the re-establishment of the Constitution of the Cortes of the year 1812; which, confounding all elements and all power, and assuming only the single principle of a permanent and legal opposition against the government, necessarily destroyed that central and tutelary authority which constitutes the essence of the monarchical system.

The consequences have fully made known to the Spanish nation what are the fruits of so fatal an error.

The revolution, that is to say, the letting loose of every passion against the ancient order of things, far from being stopped, checked, or modified, has developed itself in a manner at once rapid and terrifying.

The government, powerless and paralysed, had no longer the means of either doing good or preventing evil. All its powers were found concentrated, accumulated, and confounded in one single Assembly; this Assembly presented only a conflict of opinions and views, of interests and of passions, in the midst of which propositions and revolutions of the most heterogeneous kind, were constantly produced, resisted, or neutralized. The ascendency of the fatal doctrines of a disorganizing philosophy could not but augment the general delusion, until at last, as might naturally be expected, every notion of sound policy was abandoned for vain theories, and every sentiment of justice and moderation sacrificed to the dreams of fallacious liberty. From that moment institutions, established under the pretence of offering, securities against the abuse of authority, became merely the instruments of injustice and violence, and the means of covering this tyrannical system with an appearance of legality.

Without the slightest hesitation the most venerable and sacred rights were abolished; lawful property was violated; and the Church was stripped of its dignity, its prerogatives, and its possessions. It may be thought that a despotic power, exercised by a faction only to the injury of the country, would soon have fallen to pieces, if delusive declamations from the tribune, ferocious outcries from the clubs, and the licentiousness of the press, had not kept down public opinion, and stifled the voice of that sound and reasonable part of the Spanish nation, which Europe was well aware formed an immense majority. But the measure of injustice was filled, and the patience of faithful Spaniards appeared

at length to be exhausted. On all sides discontents burst forth, and whole provinces became the prey of civil war.

In the midst of this dreadful agitation, the Sovereign of the country was seen reduced to an absolutely powerless state, deprived of all liberty of action and of will, a prisoner in his capital, separated from all his faithful servants, who still remained attached to him, loaded with insults and contumely, and exposed, from day to day, to attempts which, if the faction did not provoke them, at least they had retained no means of preventing.

You, sir, who have witnessed the origin, the progress, and the consequences of the revolution of the year 1820, can testify that there is nothing exaggerated in the picture of it which I have thus rapidly traced. Things have now reached that crisis, that the Sovereigns assembled at Verona at length feel themselves compelled to inquire what are now, and what will hereafter be, the nature of their relations with Spain.

It might have been hoped, that the dreadful calamity with which Spain was attacked would prove a crisis of a nature calculated to bring back that ancient monarchy to an order of things compatible with its own welfare, and with relations of friendship and confidence between itself and the other States of Europe. But this hope has been hitherto frustrated. The moral state of Spain is at the present moment such that her relations with Foreign Powers must necessarily be doubtful and uncertain. Doctrines, subversive of all social order, are openly preached and protected. Insults, directed against the principal Sovereigns of Europe, fill with impunity the public journals. The Revolutionists of Spain disperse their emissaries, in order to associate with themselves in their pernicious labours whatever conspirators may be found in foreign countries against public order and legitimate authority.

The inevitable effect of so many disorders has particularly manifested itself in the change of relations between Spain and France. The irritation which has resulted is of a nature calculated to create the most just apprehensions as to the maintenance of peace between the two countries. This circumstance alone would be sufficient to determine the assembled Sovereigns to break silence upon a state of things which every day threatens to compromise the tranquillity of Europe.

Is the Spanish Government willing, or is it able, to apply a remedy to evils so palpable and so notorious? Will it, and can it, prevent or repress the hostile consequences and the insulting provocations which arise with regard to Foreign Governments, from the position in which the Revolution has placed it, and from the system which it has established?

We conceive that nothing can be more contrary to the intentions of his Most Catholic Majesty, than to see himself placed

in a situation so extremely painful with respect to Foreign Sovereigns; but it is precisely because this Monarch, who is the only authentic and legitimate organ of communication between Spain and the other Powers of Europe, finds himself deprived of his liberty, and restrained in his will, that those Powers consider their relations with Spain to be compromised and deranged.

It is not for Foreign Courts to judge what institutions would harmonize best with the character, the manners, and the real wants of the Spanish nation; but it does indubitably belong to them to judge of the consequences which experiments of this kind produce with regard to themselves, and to regulate by those consequences their future determinations, and their future positions, with regard to Spain. Now the King, our master, is of opinion, that, in order to preserve, and re-establish on a solid foundation, his relations with Foreign Powers, the Spanish Government cannot do less than give to these last unequivocal proofs of the liberty of his Catholic Majesty, and an adequate guarantee of its disposition and of its ability to remove the causes of our regret, and of our too just inquietude respecting it.

The King orders you, sir, not to conceal this opinion from the Spanish Minister, to read to him this despatch, to leave a copy of it in his hands, and to request him to explain himself frankly and clearly upon the points to which it refers....

ANSWERS OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

To the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty at Paris, &c.

The Government of his Catholic Majesty has just received the communication of a Note sent by his Most Christian Majesty to his Ambassador at this Court, and of which your Excellency will receive a copy for your information.

The Government of his Catholic Majesty has few observations to make upon this Note; but, in order that your Excellency may not be embarrassed as to the line of conduct you ought to pursue under these circumstances, it has deemed it its duty frankly to state to you its sentiments and resolutions.

The Spanish Government has never been ignorant that the institutions spontaneously adopted by Spain, would excite the jealousy of several of the Cabinets of Europe, and that they would be the object of deliberation at the Congress of Verona. But, firm in its principles, and resolved, at every sacrifice, to defend its present political system, and the national independence, it has tranquilly awaited the result of this Congress.

Spain is governed by a Constitution promulgated, accepted,

and sworn to in 1812, and recognized by all the Powers who assembled themselves in Congress at Verona.

Perfidious Counsellors prevented his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand VII., from swearing, on his return to Spain, to this fundamental Code, which the whole nation desired, and which was destroyed by force, without any remonstrance on the part of the Powers who had recognised it; but an experience of six years, and the general will, engaged his Majesty in 1820 to conform to the views of Spaniards.

It was not a military insurrection that established this new order of things at the commencement of the year 1820. The courageous men who so decidedly declared themselves in the Isle of Leon, and successively in other provinces, were only the organs of general opinion, and of the desires of the whole nation.

It was natural that a change of this nature should make some disaffected; it is an inevitable consequence of all reform which has for its object the diminution of abuses. In all nations there are individuals who can never accustom themselves to the yoke of reason and justice.

The Army of Observation, which the French Government maintains at the foot of the Pyrenees cannot calm the disorders which afflict Spain. Experience, on the contrary, has proved that the existence of this sanatory cordon (recently transformed into an Army of Observation), has only increased the hopes of the fanatics who have propagated the cry of rebellion in our provinces, by cherishing the idea of an immediate invasion of our territory.

The principles, the views, or the fears, which have influenced the conduct of the Cabinets which assembled at Verona, cannot serve as a guide to the Spanish Government. It abstains, for the moment, from making any reply to that portion of the instructions of M. the Count de Lagarde, which emanates and relates to the said Congress.

The days of calm and of tranquillity, which the Government of his Most Christian Majesty wishes to the Spanish nation, the latter does not less anxiously desire for herself and her Government. Both being persuaded that the remedy can only be the work of time and perseverance, they are, as they are bound to do, making every effort to accelerate their useful and salutary effects.

The Spanish Government appreciates the offer made to it by his Most Christian Majesty, to contribute all in his power to its happiness; but it is persuaded, that the means and the precautions which his Majesty adopts can produce only contrary results.

The aid which the French Government ought, at the present moment, to give to that of Spain is purely negative; to dissolve its Army of the Pyrenees, repulse the factious enemies of Spain who take refuge in France, and oppose itself, in the most energetic manner, against all those who indulge in defaming, in

the most shameful manner, the Government of his Catholic Majesty, as also the institutions of Spain and her Cortes. This is what the right of nations demands—a right respected by those States in which civilization reigns.

To say that France desires the welfare of Spain and her tranquillity, whilst firebrands like these, which feed the evils that afflict her, are kept continually flaming, is to fall into an abyss of contradictions.

Whatever may be the determination which the Government of his Most Christian Majesty may deem it expedient to come to under these circumstances, that of his Majesty will be to continue tranquilly in the path traced out to it by its duty, the justice of its cause, and the character of firmness and attachment to constitutional principles, which eminently distinguish the nation, at the head of which it is placed, and without entering, for the moment, into an analysis of the hypothetical and ambiguous expressions contained in the instructions sent to the Count de Lagarde, it concludes that the repose and prosperity of the nation, as also every thing which may increase the elements of her welfare, ought to interest no Power more anxiously than herself; that her motto and the rule of her present and future conduct are, constant attachment to the Constitution of 1812, peace with all nations, and especially the never admitting the right of any Power whatever to interfere in her affairs.

Your Excellency is authorized to read this Note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and to give him a copy, if he require it. Your judgment and prudence will suggest to you the firm conduct, a conduct worthy of Spain, which you ought to pursue at this moment.

Such are the communications which his Majesty orders me to make to you.

(Signed) EVARISTO SAN MIGUEL.

The following "Circular," was sent to the Plenipotentiaries of his Catholic Majesty, residing at the Courts of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburgh.

It would be unworthy the Spanish Government to answer the Notes of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, because they are only a tissue of lies and calumnies; it confines itself to making known to you its intentions.

1. The Spanish nation is governed by a Constitution which was solemnly recognised by the Emperor of Russia, in 1812.

2. The Spaniards, friends to their country, proclaimed, at the beginning of the year 1812, this Constitution, which was abolished solely by violence, in 1814.

3. The Constitutional King of Spain freely exercises the powers vested in him by the fundamental code.

4. The Spanish nation does not in any way interfere with the institutions and internal regime of other nations.

5. The remedy for all the evils which may afflict the Spanish nation only concerns herself.

6. The evils which she experiences are not the effect of the Constitution, but of the efforts of the enemies who endeavour to destroy her.

7. The Spanish nation will never admit the right of any Power to interfere in her affairs.

The Government will never deviate from the line traced out to it by its duties, the national honour, and by its unalterable attachment to the Constitution sworn to in 1812.

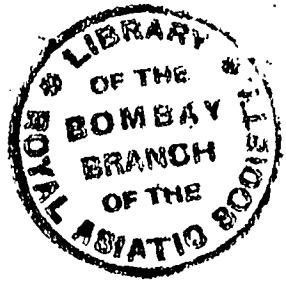
I authorize you to communicate verbally this paper to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Power to which you are accredited, and to deliver him a copy, if he require it.

His Majesty hopes that the prudence, the zeal, and the patriotism which distinguish you will suggest a firm conduct, such as is worthy of the Spanish name under present circumstances. This is what I have the honour to communicate to your Excellency, by order of his Majesty.

I renew to you the assurances, &c.

(Signed) EVARISTO ST. MIGUEL.

THE END.



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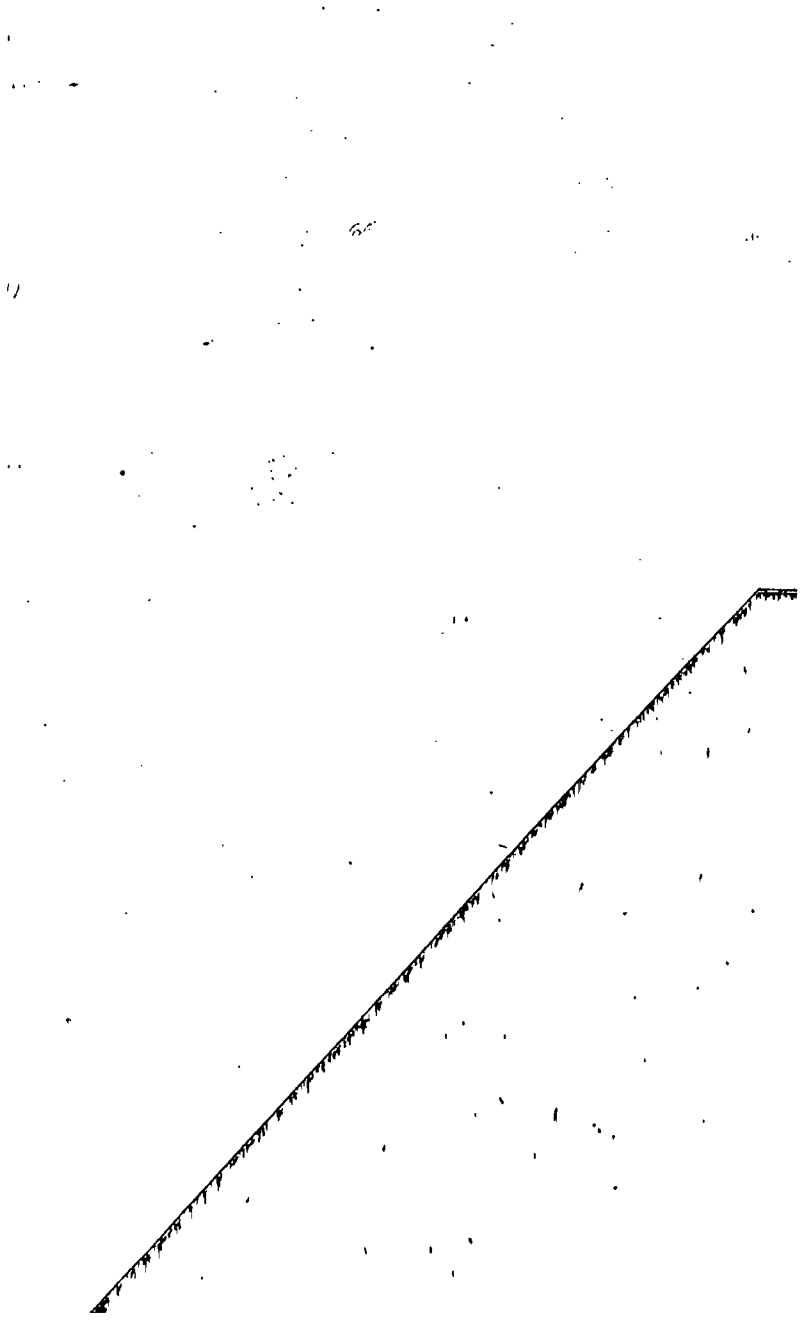

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on 02 January, 2016